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ABSTRACT

Historical developments in higher education are considered in five articles. In "Conditions of University Research, 1900-1920," Roger L. Geiger focuses on faculty teaching load, sabbatical leaves and other arrangements for providing research opportunities, and research funding. An article by John H. Kohler, III, "Donald Davidson's Cultural Conservative Critique of the New University Movement in the South," considers educational changes at Vanderbilt University and Davidson's views of tradition and progressivism. Changes included the decline of the classics, the adoption of the elective system, and increased offerings in the sciences and social sciences. In "'Oars and the Man': Pleasure and Purpose in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge," J. A. Mangan discusses athletics in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the late nineteenth century. Amy Hague's article, "'What if the Power Does Lie Within Me?' Women Students at the University of Wisconsin, 1875-1900," focuses on the effects of single sex colleges on women and discriminatory attitudes and practices that continued with coeducational institutions. In the final article, "Discrimination at Syracuse University," Harvey Strum discusses discriminatory practices against Jews, Catholics, Blacks, and women at Syracuse University in the period between 1916 and 1942 and the lifting of these barriers during the decade of 1942-1952. (SW)

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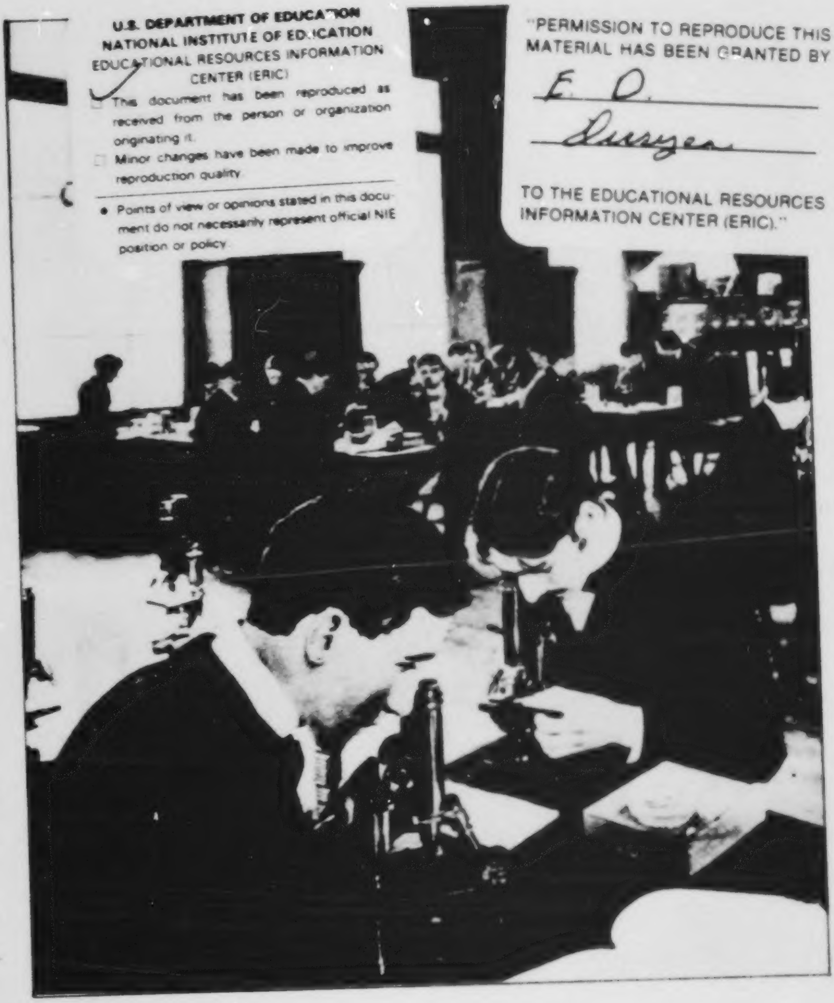

Volume Four 1984

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The cover picture: Medical School laboratory, University of Buffalo, at the turn of the century.

The Conditions of University Research, 1900 - 1920[1]

Roger Geiger

DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY the founding of Johns Hopkins, the floodtide of influence from German universities, and the academic boom of the nineties all contributed to establishing a firm commitment to research in the leading American universities.[2] The maturation of these "research universities" early in the twentieth century increasingly brought to the fore the problem of specific support for university research. A latent inconsistency, occasionally noted by university presidents themselves, existed between the ringing endorsements of research as a general university goal and faculty time outside the classroom available to realize that goal. Furthermore, the rising costs of research after 1900, particularly in the natural sciences, placed an ever-growing strain upon the ad hoc means and informal channels of raising the needed funds. The universities responded to these pressures with a variety of innovations. Although the theoretical possibilities for accommodating research may have been numerous, they were not all consistent with the realities of the American university. In the first two decades of the century, the concrete experiences of the research universities winnowed these possible adaptations down to a few viable alternatives. This process can be seen first in the treatment of faculty, and then in the matter of material resources for research.

"The American university is emphatically a teaching university," stated David Starr Jordan in 1906.[3] And, indeed, compared with the emphasis on examinations in British and French universities, or the scope allowed for research in German institutions, this was certainly the case. American students entered the university with far less preparation than their European counterparts and were consequently far more dependent upon their mentors for basic instruction. The characteristic American form of certification that emerged in this period reflected the centrality of the teaching imperative: credit hours testified to the volume of instruction received, while letter grades signified the extent to which the material may have been learned.[4] A recurrent dream of American university builders was to jettison a major portion of this basic teaching burden in order to orient the universities more definitely toward research. During the height of German university influence it was common to equate "true" university work with the graduate level of American higher education. This spirit was evident at the founding of Johns Hopkins, and explicitly behind G. Stanley Hall's unsuccessful effort to create Clark as a graduate university. Later reformers would scheme to separate the freshman and sophomore years from the advanced work of the university, but to no avail. Undergraduate education was too essential to the overall functioning of the university to be sacrificed to the interests of research. Instead, enrollment growth was welcomed as both a sign of institutional success and a necessary means for justifying a larger and more specialized faculty. And, growth frequently involved innovations such as summer sessions and professional schools that tended to increase faculty teaching obligations. For most faculty at most universities, research was possible only after teaching responsibilities were fulfilled. As a consequence, "one of the most difficult of modern university problems" for President Eliot and other university leaders was "to determine the just relation between instruction and research."[5]

The crux of the problem was the basic teaching load of faculty at research universities. Even when these loads can be determined objectively, however, there is considerable uncertainty regarding their interpretation. A 1908 survey by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) of hours actually spent in classroom teaching notes all the appropriate caveats: classroom hours do not reflect time spent in preparation beforehand or with students afterward; different kinds of classes require varying amounts of work; nor can classroom hours alone reveal the burden of student numbers. Nevertheless, the figures reported by CFAT still shed some light on this situation.[6]

Most striking is the pronounced disparity in teaching loads between colleges and research universities. Faculty in the latter averaged 8 to 10 hours of teaching per week (non-laboratory subjects), while their counterparts in well-established liberal arts colleges (i.e., Carnegie-accepted) were professing from 15 to 18 hours. To the survey authors this represented "a difference in kind of work" that existed by this date between the two settings.[7] A certain amount of research time was already built into faculty positions at research universities. A second conclusion of this survey was that teaching loads tended to be fairly comparable across subjects within a given institution. Discrepancies were somewhat greater between research universities, and probably represented differences in both the composition of teaching responsibilities and attitudes toward instruction. Johns Hopkins, for example, with its predominance of graduate students, had the lowest reported load among research universities, while conservative Yale had the highest. The University of Chicago was unusual in placing an explicit limit on teaching loads. In the original general regulations of the University it was specified that each faculty member "shall lecture thirty-six weeks of the year, ten to twelve hours a week; no instructor shall be required to lecture more than this amount."[8] When this policy was promulgated in 1892, Chicago was undoubtedly well in advance of comparable universities, but only a decade and a half later this standard was equaled or surpassed by other research universities.

Another inquiry into teaching loads revealed that by 1920 some differentiation was taking place among research universities. The most prestigious universities that attracted the greatest number of graduate students, which were by and large the wealthiest institutions as well, required faculty to teach from six to eight hours per week. In other research universities, ten to twelve hours was a more likely load. The authors concluded that, "to require no more than six to eight hours of teaching from a professor...is, therefore, already in the United States a mark of first class practice."[9] Clearly belonging in this class were Columbia, Cornell and Harvard; California and Chicago met this standard for faculty doing graduate teaching; while Stanford, Yale and perhaps Michigan barely qualified for inclusion. By this juncture, then, these schools were permitting their faculty an amount of time for research that other universities were incapable of matching.

Student faculty ratios offer another perspective on teaching burdens. The figures given in Table 1 have the advantage of being comparable across forty years of university development, but some caveats are in order here as well. First, since different institutions represent rather different mixtures of teaching responsibilities, comparisons of any single university from one decade to another may be more meaningful than those between universities for a given year. For example, the existence of large medical schools at Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins (after 1893) certainly helped to lower their ratios; and the same is probably true for the high proportion of technical education at Illinois, Cornell, and M.I.T.

Second, enrollment surges do not necessarily coincide in the short run with conditions for faculty growth. The aftermath of World War I is a good case in point as enrollments mushroomed while universities were still enduring financial adversity. The figures for public universities appear to be somewhat more volatile, indicating that they had less control over their resources and student numbers. Finally, because teaching methods changed as class size increased, it was by no means certain that the larger classes implied by higher student faculty ratios necessarily meant greater teaching burdens. A survey of faculty at the University of Chicago revealed that classes of 20-29 students claimed the largest share of an instructor's time, and that teaching hours were reduced in smaller or larger classes.[10] Nevertheless, the overall change in student faculty ratios seems consistent with the relatively small teaching loads at research universities.

As Table 1 indicates, a significant transformation took place in research universities between 1890 and 1910. Even though enrollments grew enormously during these years, the number of faculty grew even faster. The

TABLE 1
FACULTY AND STUDENT/FACULTY RATIOS AT RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES, 1890-1930.

	1889-90		1899-1900		1909-10		1919-20		1929-30	
	Fac.	**S/F**	**Fac.**	**S/F**	**Fac.**	**S/F**	**Fac.**	**S/F**	**Fac.**	**S/F**
California	67	10.5	187	13.2	297	13	1178	10.7	1660	11.3
Illinois	32	14.7	217	8.3	548	8.7	948	9	1098	12.2
Michigan	96	22.5	207	16	317	15	454	19	827	12.5
Minnesota	103	9.7	208	12.1		12.8*	814	15	952	15.7
Wisconsin	70	11.4	161	13.5		10.4*	518	14.1	704	14.8
Chicago			211	15	334	20	413	27.4	772	19.1
Columbia	180	9.3	350	7	513	6.9	970	8.8	1656	9.6
Cornell	104	12.8	321	7.3	636	6.6	876	5.9	803	7.3
Harvard	217	9.8	448	9.2	618	6.5	783	5.9	928	10.2
Johns Hopkins	58	7	141	4.6	218	3.1	341	8	640	7.9
M.I.T.		10.1		8.7	223	6.6	269	10.7	397	7.7
Pennsylvania	180	8.9	260	10.3	454	9.1	827	8.3	1374	6.8
Princeton	45	17.1	80	14.8	169	8.3	192	9.6	308	8.1
Stanford			131	10.2	160	10.9	298	9.4	477	9.7
Yale	143	10.3	258	9.4	404	8.2	410	7.7	598	8.9

*1908-09.

SOURCE: Bureau of Education, *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1889-90 (II, 2), 1899-1900 (II), 1909-10 (II); "Biennial Survey of Education," *Bulletin*, 1923 (29), 1931 (20).

number of students per teacher was halved at Princeton and Cornell and reduced by a third at Illinois, Michigan, Harvard and M.I.T. Reductions were significant at Columbia, Yale and Hopkins as well; while at the others fairly stable ratios implied a large absolute growth in faculty numbers. It is probable that this transformation produced a reduction in the teaching burden of the average faculty member, and thus increased the time available for individual research. By 1910, however, this movement was largely completed. In the next twenty years, a certain amount of backsliding seems to have taken place, most notably at Columbia and Harvard. More significant, though, was the growing standardization between similar institutions. The discrepancies between public research universities were smaller in 1930 than at any prior time. Among private research universities (which are more heterogeneous by nature), the 1930 differences were smaller still except for Chicago, which appeared to operate on a standard all its own. Overall, then, the evidence suggests that basic faculty responsibilities for teaching duties and potential research time were fairly well established during the first decade of the century. Still, this conclusion does not settle the underlying issue: how much teaching was too much teaching?

From the viewpoint of the scientific community the teaching burden imposed by American universities was a continual obstacle to the pursuit of research. At least six of the disciplinary advisory committees set up by the Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1902, for example, recommended measures for freeing faculty from classroom duties.[11] T. W. Richards of Harvard considered this need so acute that he prepared a minority chemistry report to stress the point. According to Richards:

> . . .in a few great universities some at least of the professors are given time for research . . . .But this freedom is the exception rather than the rule. Not only are most American professors overburdened with routine work, but nearly all are obliged, by the inadequacy of their salaries, to consume time and energy in hack work . . . .[12]

An informed estimate for physics around the turn of the century suggests that professors could expect one-fifth, and assistant professors one-fourth, of their time to be spent on research. For all categories of personnel, American physicists had significantly less research time than their counterparts in Germany, France and Great Britain.[13] A sampling of the views of assistant professors in research universities in 1910 revealed a situation that was perhaps less dire than that portrayed by Richards: the respondents divided evenly over the question of whether their own conditions for research and advanced work were satisfactory.[14]

The ambiguity of these responses merely underscores the fact that the problem of adequate faculty research time was only partly resolved in the first decade of the century. Moreover, there was another side to the issue. After the pronounced emphasis on university research in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the years after 1900 saw a recrudescence of a cultural emphasis on undergraduate instruction. "The Ph.D. Octopus" by William James set the tone for a literature that scorned the pedantry and pretentiousness of the German approach to university research. At the same time the movement for liberal culture gave new purpose and stature to undergraduate education.[15] The first decade of the century, then, witnessed an intermittent debate between those who thought the university should place more emphasis on teaching, and scholars who demanded a greater accommodation of research.

The individuals most affected by this conflict were undoubtedly the small fraternity of research university presidents. As a requirement of office they were virtually compelled to embrace both research and teaching ideals. And, they further believed that the two could and should be united. In reality, however, they were being pulled in opposite directions. In the background stood the new endowed research institutes, representing total dedication to research and occasionally luring away their best scientists.[16] The institutions over which they presided, on the other hand, derived their sustenance from the teaching they supplied. In their discussions together at Association of American Universities meetings, or in the everyday tasks of administering their universities, one of the foremost problems faced by university presidents was to find ways to encourage and support faculty research in "teaching universities."

The crosscurrents of this problem were exemplified in the controversial issue of research professorships. To create such extraordinary positions amounted to a policy of specialization, although it was never actually phrased that way: have the "research man," in the parlance of the day, devote all his time to investigation; and conversely, though not necessarily, have a corps of "teaching men" fully employed in instruction. Although such an explicit division of function may sound incongruous, there were sufficient innovations in the first decades of the century for specialization to be considered an experiment performed. The results reveal much about the predicament of faculty research.

As background to this question it should be noted that teaching loads were not generally standardized within institutions, or even within departments. President Charles Van Hise of Wisconsin took pride in pointing out that teaching responsibilities were adjusted according to the personal capabilities of each faculty member:

> At Wisconsin there is no fixed amount of instructional work required from a professor. The quantity of this work varies

> greatly. Where in the faculty there is a man who is not a productive scholar, he is likely to have a rather heavy instructional work. Where, upon the other hand, there is a man who is doing things, he has large liberty as to the amount of instructional work he carries.[17]

This undoubtedly reflected the general practice at research universities. In fact, when the subject arose, the presidents strongly opposed the substitution of standards or norms for this kind of individualized treatment.[18] Before the turn of the century, pure research positions had been created, but on those occasions they were intended for junior faculty. The rank of "docent"—an approximation of the German *Privatdocent* was tried at Hopkins, Clark and Chicago, but did not endure.[19] The post of research professor was more permanent, more conspicuous, and considerably more costly. When such appointments were discussed by the AAU in 1906, the opinion of university presidents was decidedly negative, although not for those reasons. Rather, they felt that research professorships violated the unity of teaching and research to which they were strongly committed.[20] In this light, the fact that such positions were created by some of these same men appears somewhat curious.

In general, the existence of research professorships is explained by the stature of the men who held them—scholars of considerable reknown, often sought by more than one institution. Thus, the flamboyant psychologist Edward Titchener was allowed to devote himself exclusively to research and graduate work at Cornell; when Stanford made an offer to historian Frederick Jackson Turner, Wisconsin countered by allowing him half time free for research; and biologist Jacques Loeb was lured to California by the offer of a research professorship.[21] Most such appointments, however, seem to have ended badly, and the special treatment the incumbents received appears to be the root cause. Two research chairs awarded by Chicago, and one of two at Ohio State, were abandoned by their holders. Turner's favored treatment caused such acrimony with the Wisconsin regents that it prompted his departure for Harvard only two years later (1910). The same year Loeb fled to the Rockefeller Institute because "my colleagues, and very soon the community and the newspapers, quickly resented the idea that I should receive full pay and do little teaching." Loeb's conclusion that, "in a democracy today there is as yet no room in a state university for pure research," was probably too sweeping.[22] But, research professorships were nevertheless not to be the means for promoting research in American universities. Instead, they were no more than extraordinary arrangements for exceptional individuals and unusual circumstances.[23]

The other side of this coin, specialized teaching posts, also made little headway. Periodic suggestions that pure teaching professorships be created to counter undue emphasis on research were superfluous since most universities already had numerous faculty of that type.[24] President Van Hise, whose announced policy was to require productive scholarship for appointments and promotions, found when he surveyed his faculty that more than one-third engaged in no research at all. Again, there is no reason to think Wisconsin atypical in this respect. A far more interesting application of specialization in teaching occurred at Princeton. The decision by President Woodrow Wilson and Dean Andrew F. West to enlarge the faculty with a special corps of undergraduate tutors, called preceptors, directly contradicted trends at other research universities. The intense and intimate instruction that these arrangements were intended to facilitate suited the distinctive aspirations of Princeton, but also had the potential of creating a special class of faculty virtually excluded from the professional community of scholars.[25] This was precisely the situation that most research universities wished to avoid.[26]

The decisive trend working against the specialization of faculty functions was the development of democratic university departments. As the locus of disciplinary authority in universities, the department represented a unitary system of values shared by all members concerning the advancement of knowledge. As permanent department heads were increasingly replaced by rotating chairmen, and assistant professors gained a voice in departmental matters, departments were inexorably pressured to treat all members on an equitable basis.[27] This did not imply equal treatment with respect to teaching and research, but rather that each member at least be given some opportunity to pursue research. At Princeton, for example, the preceptorial system quickly was made compatible with these imperatives by having all departmental members serve as preceptors.[28]

The fundamental problem of the American research university thus became finding the means for providing every faculty member with some chance to contribute to the advancement of knowledge, not to mention the advancement of their own professional careers. Innovations that failed this test of equity were simply not imitated, and consequently were relegated to a marginal position in the university system. Thus, research professorships attained only a toehold in universities, either in subjects remote from undergraduate teaching or supported by special endowments. On the other hand, innovations that made it possible to spread research opportunities among many faculty had widespread appeal. As these needs became more clearly recognized by the second decade of the century, such mechanisms as sabbatical leaves, revolving research funds, and graduate assistantships were increasingly adopted by the research universities. They became characteristic American adaptations to the difficulty of reconciling the demands of both teaching and research.

The origin of the modern practice of sabbatical leaves can be traced back to Harvard. In 1880, as part of an offer that enticed philologist Charles Lanman away from Johns Hopkins, Eliot promised him every seventh year off with half pay. By the turn of the century this practice had spread to Columbia, Pennsylvania, and at least eight other research universities.[29] Clearly, this was the kind of perquisite that other universities had to match to remain competitive in attracting and holding leading scholars. Sabbaticals at this juncture were thus offered only to established scholars and were not an entitlement of all faculty members. They were thus part of the deliberately unequal treatment of faculty condoned by Van Hise. The process by which sabbatical leaves spread throughout American higher education to become available to faculty in general occupies most of the twentieth century. In the research universities, however, departmental democratization soon created pressures for uniform treatment. At Yale, for example, a sabbatical policy covering all professors was announced in 1910.[30] One factor which certainly impeded the utilization of sabbaticals early in the century was the precarious economic situation of faculty. Those without independent means, particularly junior faculty, could hardly afford to sacrifice half of their annual income.[31] The widespread adoption of sabbaticals for faculty research was thus dependent upon the availability of supplemental research funds. Systematic progress in this area only began to occur near the end of this period.

President Harry Pratt Judson of Chicago advocated in 1919 that separate funds be earmarked for university research. "When funds are not set aside for special purposes they must be used for general purposes." In fact, the measures he urged were already being tried. Early in the century the formation of administratively distinct graduate schools provided one conduit for aiding research. At Illinois, for example, the graduate school began receiving its own annual appropriations in 1908, some of which was used for assistants, equipment and supplies for research.[33] A more explicit provision for research occurred at California in 1915, when $2,000 was included in the university's budget for incidental faculty expenses related to research. Even though this sum was subsequently increased, it remained miniscule in comparison with potential needs. To solve the problem of equitable distribution, a faculty committee was established to recommend grants. This appears to be an indication of growing faculty authority in research-related matters. California's research fund and the faculty committee controlling it were clearly precedents for other universities.[34] Only a few years later, August Heckscher bequeathed to Cornell a $500,000 endowment to be used specifically to provide faculty with research time. Instead of creating research professorships, an alternative apparently considered, these funds were administered in a manner similar to California's. Harvard as well preferred to utilize its research funds in this manner.[35] Nevertheless, such arrangements presupposed that separate research funds were available, and that was clearly unusual. An AAUP survey in 1921 found just nine universities with revolving research funds.[36]

Finally, it appears to be an entirely natural organizational adaptation for universities to turn to their own graduate students for help with the work of the university. Graduate students had the potential of providing cheap, competent and dedicated assistants for research, and as teaching fellows they could be used to considerably lighten the most resented faculty burden, that of instruction in introductory courses. Morever, students could staff these subordinate positions without the stigma that followed those permanently relegated to such posts.

The idea behind graduate fellowships, as they were first employed at Johns Hopkins and Clark, was to guarantee their holders the means to devote themselves exclusively to their studies. Chicago was clearly exceptional when it required its fellows to spend one-sixth of their time in various forms of "university service" which did not include teaching.[37] The true teaching fellowship is essentially a twentieth-century creation. Harvard employed a large bequest to create thirty such positions in 1899, requiring their holders to teach half-time. After the turn of the century Pennsylvania and Wisconsin created similar positions with teaching obligations of about five hours per week. When the AAU considered the general issue of graduate fellowships in 1906, practices differed widely among member universities. Although G. Stanley Hall castigated the practices at Harvard as a "sweating system," opinion overall seemed to have favored the use of graduate students as teachers.[38] Graduate teaching fellowships certainly had practical benefits for the universities, and these undoubtedly accounted for their rapid spread after this date. By 1914, the annual payroll of enrolled students engaged in teaching or research at the University of California exceeded $100,000.[39] The utilization of graduate students soon passed from the status of an innovation to being an integral practice of research universities.

When all of the factors just discussed are taken into account, there can be little doubt that the trade-off between teaching and research for the average faculty member in a research university changed markedly from 1890 to 1920. First came a progressive lowering of both the number of students per professor and the number of hours spent in the classroom. For the purposes of research, the latter seems to have been more important. After about 1910, student teacher ratios expanded slightly, while teaching loads appear to have continued to shrink. Larger classes and the utilization of graduate teaching fellows may have made it possible for professors simultaneously to teach more students and to have more time for research. The establishment of regular sabbaticals gave every professor an opportunity—and an implicit obligation—for intensive research. At the end of this period the appearance of revolving research funds in several universities provided further potential assistance for faculty research.

During these thirty years, the American research university evolved, through trial, error and occasional success, away from the unattainable German ideal of pure research toward a characteristically American amalgamation of university teaching and research. By 1920, the organizational mechanisms were in place for this kind of university-based research system. In certain ways the situation was similar with respect to the material resources required for university research.

The material, as opposed to the human inputs to university research, cover a broader and more diverse range of phenomena, and they too were crucial in the evolution of research universities. In order to provide a coherent account of this facet of their development it is helpful to distinguish three types of material resources. First, capital inputs to research take the form of either physical structures or special endowments. The role of these university assets was not unlike that of faculty: that is, they were generally used for both teaching and research; and, the more of them that a university had, just as the more faculty it had relative to students, the greater the capacity for university research. The second category pertains to capital as well, but capital used in a special way. University research institutes were, in sharp departure from normal university practice, devoted nearly exclusively to research. Although some of these units were long established, they became more numerous and prominent after the turn of the century. The third category is reserved for funds intended to be entirely expended in aiding research. In it would fall all of the nonrecurring forms of aid that professors utilized to cover the incremental costs of investigation. These distinctions will be useful first to explicate the system of support for university research as it existed at the close of the nineteenth century, and then to identify the forces of change impinging upon this system after 1900.

In 1880, Harvard was offered $115,000 by an anonymous donor to construct a physics laboratory, with the condition that a permanent endowment of $75,000 be raised to cover its operating expenses. The stipulated funds were soon collected, and in 1884 the Jefferson Physical Laboratory opened its doors. Harvard thus came to possess one of the country's most up-to-date facilities for experimental physics. The Jefferson Physical Laboratory, then, resulted from the initiative and the intellectual preferences of the soon-identified donor, T. Jefferson Coolidge. Similarly, he later also endowed a new chemical laboratory, despite the fact that the Wolcott Gibbs Memorial Laboratory for Chemistry was then under construction.[40] Both of these structures augmented Harvard's capacity for research in the physical sciences, but both essentially were the product of the initiatives of their donor.

A contrasting example can be found in the early history of the University of Chicago. President William Rainey Harper failed initially to secure the funds needed to construct a biology building, and by 1894 he would describe this lacuna as the university's single "greatest need." During the same interval Harper was courting a gift from the heiress and philanthropist Helen Culver. Late in 1895, after lengthy behind-the-scenes machinations, she summoned Harper to inform him of her intention to make a substantial donation to the university. Her aim was to endow an art school and gallery at a location well removed from the campus. It apparently required all of Harper's considerable persuasive powers to dissuade her, first from giving such an art school, then from her second preference of creating a music school, and eventually to implant the idea of supporting biology at the University of Chicago. The end result was Hull Quadrangle, containing ample laboratories for anatomy, physiology, botany and zoology. In this case it was the priorities of the university, most strenuously advanced by its president, that steered the Culver donation into the service of university biological research.[41]

Private universities relied heavily upon gifts for their capital needs. Columbia may have resorted to loans to construct Morningside Heights, and Harvard in 1876 reluctantly tapped its "free capital" in order to extend its library, but such steps were exceptions, to be avoided if at all possible.[42] In general, when gifts were not forthcoming projects could be postponed: existing facilities, no matter how inadequate, could be made to suffice for the next year, the year after, and so on. The nature of the gifts that produced the Jefferson Physical Laboratory and the Hull Quadrangle stand out from the thousands of capital gifts received by American universities in the late nineteenth century chiefly because they fall near the opposite end of a continuum that might be drawn from donor to university priorities. Probably most benefactions represented a more balanced combination of the desires of both institutions and givers. Nevertheless, universities could and did take special measures to see that particular needs were met. They could, as Harvard did in gathering the stipulated endowment for the Jefferson Laboratory, create a special fund, and then solicit contributions from among the university's reliable, large donors. Later, in the twentieth century, it became common to include special capital needs within organized fund-raising drives. Such needs, however, included far more than research. The essential point, then, is that a university's capacity to raise large sums of capital for research-related purposes was tied, above all, to its commitment to research objectives, and after that to the predilections of its donors.

When it came to building needs, the state universities had primarily a single patron, one who had limited solicitude for university research before the turn of the century. In order to build a new laboratory, public universities would typically appeal to their state legislature on the basis of teaching needs, and, if successful, construct a building that would also accommodate faculty research. State universities also appealed for private gifts, but where capital needs were concerned, an implicit division of responsibility seemed to exist. The state, in its fashion, would provide for the essential university facilities, while the university had to rely upon its own efforts and its occasional large benefactors for amenities like gymnasiums or ceremonial halls. Capital for research purposes fell somewhere between these two spheres for state universities in the late nineteenth century. The notable exception was the University of California, which by the end of the century was beginning to benefit from an unusually rich and steady stream of voluntary support for research-related ends.

Capital to assist research was not confined to buildings, but also included endowments for professorships, laboratories, departmental expenses and the purchase of books. Endowed professorships had the advantage of permitting a university to pay above-market salaries to outstanding scholars, or to support esoteric subjects that would not otherwise be offered. In these, as in nearly all forms of donations, Harvard stood ahead and apart. In 1902 President Eliot noted that Harvard had 40 endowed professorships, 10 of which had been given in the previous 6 years. Eliot called these professorships "the most fundamental and permanently valuable... of all University endowments," and they played a significant part in maintaining America's most distinguished faculty.[43] Elsewhere, special endowments played strategic roles in the advancement of specific areas. At Cornell, for example, the gifts of Henry W. Sage made possible the creation of a school of philosophy (1890), which rapidly became a major center for graduate training, home of the *Philosophical Review* (1892-), and a center for research in experimental psychology.[44] Like the buildings just discussed, these endowments not only served research needs, but also helped to underwrite some of the basic operative expenses of the university. However, a purer form of research capital was responsible for the few examples of university institutes.

During the nineteenth century, university research institutes were created for either of two purposes. One was to establish and operate an observatory—a type of research institute centered on an instrument that is now common. The second purpose, defining a more heterogeneous category, was to preserve and utilize collections of scholarly or scientific value. Although both kinds of institutes might offer some teaching, particularly at the graduate level, they essentially existed for purposes of research. They would usually have a faculty member in the capacity of director, but there would also be assistants concentrating entirely on research. Because these institutes were wholly intended for research, universities expected them to be fully supported through special endowments and private contributions.

Harvard was far in advance of other American universities in these kinds of arrangements. The Harvard Observatory was founded in 1844 through a public subscription, "filled largely by the merchant shipowners of Boston."

By the end of the century the various endowments it had accumulated allowed it to support close to 50 staff, including 2 full, 1 associate and 2 assistant professors.[45] By this juncture it had to share the leadership in American astronomy with the 36 inch telescope at California's Lick Observatory (f. 1888) and the 40 inch refractor at Chicago's Yerkes Observatory (f. 1898). The popular mystique of astronomy allowed university astronomers to appeal to benefactors who otherwise had little interest in science. This was certainly the case with James Lick and Charles Yerkes, but there were also exceptions. Catherine Wolfe Bruce, astronomy's most consistent and generous patron at the close of the nineteenth century, was motivated by an informed concern for the subject.[46]

The donation of collections, the buildings to house them, or endowments to care for them were more often made by individuals who were particularly concerned with their subjects. By accepting such offers universities could sometimes be enticed into unintended and unforseen areas. Harvard pretty well represents the gamut of possibilities. Prior to 1900 it had established museums or endowed collections in anatomy, archaeology, several areas of botany, mineralogy, comparative zoology and art. The status of these institutes naturally varied widely. The well-endowed Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology became an important scientific center from its establishment in the late 1860s. The Bussy Institution, however—Harvard's agricultural college and experiment station—although founded by a bequest in 1835, was by 1890 in such parlous straits that it was forced to board livestock and sell vegetables to raise income. It nevertheless improved its fortunes toward the end of the century, and in 1908 was essentially transformed into a true research institute by being made a graduate school of applied biology.[47] The timing of this development was typical. The years around the turn of the century saw the founding of numerous institutes at research universities. At California, Phoebe Apperson Hearst established the basis for the Museum of Anthropology, Jacques Loeb set up his physiological laboratory, and a parallel lab was created in anatomy.[48] Activities near the close of the century at Pennsylvania represent both the old and the new strains of university institute work. In the prestigious field of Semitic studies the Archaeology Museum conducted its most fruitful (and ultimately controversial) Babylonian expeditions. At the same time the newly organized Wistar Institute (f. 1894) was shifting from specimen collecting to active medical research, thus foreshadowing a burgeoning field of twentieth-century institute research.[49]

The definition of a university research institute employed here has been deliberately loose in order to be faithful to the conditions of nineteenth-century science. Essentially, they were intended for the tasks of description (the "old" astronomy), classification (botony, zoology), and preservation (archaeology, paleontology). Significantly, such subjects had both academic and non-academic followings. They were peripheral to the university curriculum, and thus were studied by only a few advanced or graduate students. Also, the interest these subjects attracted outside the university was largely responsible for the donations that made them possible. For subjects with more curricular importance, physics and chemistry for example, instruction and research were largely integrated prior to 1900. The nineteenth-century research institute, however was basically an appendage to the university, its attachment made possible by the fact that it could pay its own way. After the turn of the century changes in the conduct and the funding of university research would enlarge the role of institutes, but without fundamentally altering these conditions.

It still remains to be seen how normal university research was financed in the absence, as was generally the case, of special endowments. Investigation in many disciplines might require expeditions, special apparatus, the purchase of collections, or the hiring of assistants. By the last decades of the century most of the universities made small regular contributions to their physics and chemistry labs, for example, to pay for materials consumed and the services of a mechanic or glassblower. The projects of individuals throughout the university, however, at times encountered extraordinary needs. On these occasions an appeal was directed outside the institution to the wider universty community.

Small contributions ranging from one dollar to thousands of dollars flowed into universities during these years to assist almost any imaginable university activity. While it is impossible to precisely categorize these gifts, several general purposes are prominent. At the head of the list are donations intended for student scholarships, prizes, loan funds and extracurricular activities. Also common were gifts to assist research and, closely related, donations of books or money for the library. The following were typical:

> $2500 to History Professor Charles K. Adams to buy books (Michigan, 1883)
> $1500 for assistants' salaries, Department of Semitic Languages (Yale, 1890)
> $395 for fossil fishes (Colombia, 1893)
> $1850 (4 gifts) for apparatus in electrochemistry (Pennsylvania, 1900)
> $250 to Physics Professor Trowbridge for magnetism research (Harvard, 1900).[50]

While generalizations about these discrete and varied occurrences are difficult, the key to understanding this kind of support appears to lie in the relationship between the university and its surrounding community. The initiative for such gifts lay predominantly with the university. There were several means by which some special need could be made known. Publicity through the president's annual report or some other official utterance was a standard practice. Department heads often had responsibility for raising donations through their contacts in the community.[51] Subscriptions were sometimes organized so that small gifts from large numbers of people could accomplish some objective. On most subscription lists, one would find the names of university officers along with some of the regular supporters of the university. This strongly suggests that the leadership of prominent citizens acting through existing social networks was the true basis of this kind of fundraising. It follows that the size of the university-connected community was an important factor in the amount of support that might be tapped in this fashion. Harvard clearly outdid all other universities in this respect, and by the turn of the century, California was also receiving a broad array of research-related gifts. Columbia, Pennsylvania, and later Chicago capitalized on their metropolitan locations to find numerous benefactors, while the comparatively small number of gifts to Cornell and Michigan may indicate the limitations of small college towns.

Mention should be made of the voluntary support received by university libraries. They were for all practical purposes the laboratories of the humanities, and gifts to augment their collections served to enhance the university's capacity for scholarship. Although large capital gifts were occasionally made to libraries, most of this giving was of the same small, piecemeal character as the donations to research just discussed. The preferences of donors were frequently evident in library gifts: people gave collections of books that they had accumulated, acted as patrons to their special areas of interest, or memorialized the intellectual tastes of their departed kin. For those without such guidelines, a common form of giving was simply to provide a sum for the purchase of books. University libraries also organized subscriptions to purchase collections that were particularly sought. Private universities depended heavily upon donations to build their collections. For example, two-thirds of the books purchased at Columbia in 1903 were financed through eleven donated funds. In addition 319 individuals gave books or pamphlets to the library that year. The largest university library, Harvard's, was completely supported by donated funds during the first half of the 1890's, and even after that endowments and gifts managed to finance all book purchases.[52]

When the material resources funneled into university research at the end of the nineteenth century are viewed as a whole, it becomes apparent that credit should be extended far beyond those individuals whose names are emblazoned over the doors of university laboratories and institutes. The university research role in fact enjoyed widespread grass-roots support across the middle and upper classes of the communities in which they were located. Some of these benefactors were alumni; others might be acquainted with university officers or department heads through local social service organizations; and members of the university who could afford it were themselves frequent contributors. It is well beyond the scope of this study to recreate the web of social relations that lay behind this type of giving. Nevertheless, it seems safe to hypothesize that such donations were based upon informal personal suggestions or requests, rather than on the kind of organized fund-raising that developed in the twentieth century. These two forms, in fact, are essentially incompatible because organized drives tend to pre-empt the philanthropic potential of large donors for university-designated purposes. This was only one reason why the nineteenth-century pattern of individual voluntary support for research was inadequate to twentieth-century research needs. More serious was the fact that such support flowed into the universities at regular intervals and in uncertain amounts. How, then, could such a system support the growing demands of modern science and scholarship? In actuality, the answer to this question was long masked by the spectacular prosperity of the research universities.

The years around the turn of the century witnessed a subtle yet significant shift in the arrangements for the university research described above. Perhaps the principal underlying cause was the steep escalation in the cost of conducting research in the natural sciences. Through the 1880's there was relatively little disparity between the needs of science and humanities departments, but this began to change in the 1890's, and changed dramatically in the twentieth century. The sciences required greater space for laboratory instruction, numerous assistants, and increasingly expensive materials and apparatus.[53] In some cases research was conducted on a heretofore unprecedented scale. The term *Grosswissenschaft* was coined in Germany in the 1890's, and by 1900 it would certainly apply to America's three leading university observatories. The Carnegie Institution would shortly extend Big Science into geological research as well. The appearance of independent research institutes at the beginning of the century was in fact symptomatic of this shift. Their inspiration sprang from serious doubts about the scientific capacity of American universities as then organized.[54] These trends provoked an ongoing concern with the organization and finance of university research.

In 1911, President Arthur Twining Hadley reviewed the spiraling costs of science at Yale during the previous decade. Yale's scientific units, which had formerly been nearly self-supporting, now presented significant and increasing charges to general university revenues. For the Sheffield Scientific School these costs rose from zero in 1901 to $25,000 in 1911; for the Peabody Museum the increase was from $5,500 to $16,000; and for the Medical School, $1,500 to $24,000. The reasons Hadley gave for this spiral were familiar—more assistants and more costly equipment were required, while scientists were demanding higher salaries and greater relief from classroom duties. In particular, Hadley believed that "competition for the services of scientific men is more acute than it was," chiefly because the western state universities and the independent research institutes had bid up salaries. Given the mode of research support then prevalent, only one solution to this problem seemed possible: "the research of a university should be as far as possible endowed research."[55] Yale clearly would have to increase its endowments for these areas.

During the first decade of the century, the presidents of the other research universities had independently come to the same conclusion. Charles Eliot in 1901 stated suggestively, "it is clear that men of means, who reflect on the uses and results of educational endowments, are more and more inclined to endow research" (his examplar--T. Jefferson Coolidge). He then proceeded to describe the current needs of Harvard for philosophy, psychology, astronomy, Latin American research, archaeology, Semitic studies, mineralogy and the art museum.[56] This approach was by no means restricted to the private universities. President Van Hise in 1905 looked forward to private donations sustaining research in state universities. Noting that the great gifts to private universities were a phenomenon of only the past generation, and mindful of California's recent success, Van Hise felt that it was only a matter of time until state universities had a numerous and, in part wealthy body of alumni, plus large local accumulations of capital, from which to draw support.[57]

Probably the most ambitious and explicit plan for endowing research was formulated in 1910 by President Jacob Gould Schurman of Cornell. Complaining that "the demand for scientific investigators, for laboratories, and for the instrumentalities of research come to the president from all departments," he invited contemporary millionaires to contribute one to three million in endowment for each of seven departments.[58] In effect, he was asking for a sum greater than twice Cornell's existing endowment (approximating, in fact, the entire Harvard endowment of 1910) for what would substantially be support for departmental research. Schurman concluded his report by adding that Cornell also needed dormitories, a gymnasium and an auditorium. Similarly, Eliot followed his earlier plea for research endowment by specifically requesting endowments for several new buildings under construction. The research universities needed funds for more than just research, and that was the crux of their problem.

It was inevitable that the need for research capital would eventually be crowded by other university needs. Although the organizational success of the research university depended heavily upon being all things to all people, there was a point at which choices had to be made concerning which needs would be publicized in the annual report, emphasized in pleas to state legislators, or urged upon a wavering Helen Culver. University initiatives were important for channeling some research-related gifts before 1900, as has been seen, but they became more important after that as fund-raising became increasingly organized. University presidents periodically took up the cudgel for research in their appeals, but the demands stemming from the university's paramount teaching responsibilities could hardly be ignored. The steady growth of student numbers required more faculty, facilities, and, for private universities, unrestricted endowment to support them. University presidents were more likely to appeal for campus buildings, or for general support, than they were for research per se.

The negative implications for university research were nevertheless long offset by certain trends in university finance. The first fifteen years of the century were in general a period of spectacular prosperity for the research universities. The private ones found large donors in ever-increasing numbers, even as their alumni became more numerous and more devoted to *alma mater*. The state research universities benefited from a rapidly expanding tax base, as well as relative popularity with their state legislatures. During these years research universities were consequently able to build the new laboratories demanded by their scientists, to reduce the teaching burden on their scholars, and to compete with one another, as Hadley had complained, by offering "scientific men" higher salaries and better conditions for research. As a result, the research imperative was far more irrevocably entrenched in these universities by the outbreak of World War I than it had been in 1900. It was only then that the existing system of research support began to show evidence of strain.

The first decade and a half of this century witnessed a building boom at the research universities. Moreover, much of this increase in capital consisted of laboratories, libraries and other basic university resources that increased their capacity for research. The expansion of facilities was most spectacular for the state universities, amounting to more than a quadrupling of physical assets in these fifteen years. The private universities were on the whole more fully developed in 1900, but they still increased the value of their buildings and grounds by some 200 to 350 percent. A more direct indication of research resources might be the value of books and scientific equipment. For this the state universities showed a five-fold increase from 1900-1915, while the private universities averaged a three-fold rise.[60] Although these figures are obviously imprecise, there can be no doubt about the meaning of such quantum jumps in embedded university research capital, especially during a period of relatively stable prices. The existing system of university financing clearly worked admirably in these years to augment the means for faculty research.

Even while the research universities were gaining strength and maturity in the years prior to the First World War the competition was intensifying for both research capital and current research support. Furthermore, this competition emanated from within the university itself. The research universities played a crucial role in the evolution of American medical schools by providing the academic leadership, the cadres of scientists and the means for raising necessary capital. All these factors were needed to transform medical schools from loosely affiliated proprietary institutions to academic units of the universities. The consummation of this process in the 1920s produced a new and different entity. University medical schools became perhaps the most self-contained compartments within already highly compartmentalized universities. They also maintained the highest research overhead of all teaching units. Henceforth, their insatiable needs for capital and income would have to be factored into future university fund-raising plans.

Something like the opposite seems to have occured with respect to the numerous small gifts for research-related purposes. These donations appear to have accelerated after 1900 along with other forms of university giving. If anything, the first decade of the twentieth century was probably the heyday of this kind of piecemeal support for the university research. The growing size and affluence of the greater university community, together with the prestige of the universities themselves are probably sufficient to account for this. Although evidence is difficult to interpret for this kind of phenomenon, it seems likely that the importance of grass-roots support for university science steadily declined after about 1910. The number of individual gifts seems to have decreased, even though a few of them assumed larger magnitudes. Gifts in kind to libraries and museums were somewhat less affected. And, at Harvard a significant number of donors continued to support research, along with everything else. But overall, it is safe to conclude that this kind of income failed to keep pace with university giving in general, the expansion of the greater university community, or the needs of university investigators.

Changes in the nature of the university itself probably account for this development. The increasingly organized character of university fund raising may have helped to squeeze out those ad hoc, idiosyncratic appeals. Yale, the most highly organized university in this respect, had correspondingly low contributions to research. In 1912-13, for example, none of the individual gifts to income were designated to support the university's research role, but 3,605 individuals did contribute to the Alumni Fund. This pattern clearly suited the Yale treasurer, who remarked:

> ...a comparatively small number of [graduates], perhaps, can interest themselves actively in some particular phase of the University's work or attempt to endow or finance any single project. No graduate, however, is excluded from participation in the great work of the Alumni University Fund Association...[61]

The research universities were undergoing a subtle transformation of their social relations during these years. As departments became larger, more self-contained and more professionalized, it indeed became more difficult for outsiders to "interest themselves actively" in departmental affairs. At the same time it seems likely that the social networks linking faculty and community leaders were slowly deteriorationg between the 1890s and the war. President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, addressing an entirely different matter in 1921 (faculty housing), unwittingly testified to this development:

> It is wise... that [faculty] and their children are not brought in social competition with those of a less wholesome but more florid type of living. It is well to have communities where brains and not money set the pace and win the prizes.[62]

As the social distance between faculty members and community elites widened, special departmental needs ceased to be a part of the ongoing matrix of community philanthropy. The university continued to benefit in many small ways from the diffuse support of its surrounding community, but the significance of this kind of assistance for university research was on the wane by the second decade of the century.

The National Research Council conducted a survey in 1920 of all "funds available in the U. S. for the encouragement of scientific research." The results, seen in Table 2, reveal those resources specifically designated for research among the major universities at the end of the period under discussion.[63] In general, the expectations earlier voiced by university presidents for the massive endowment of university research were only fulfilled in perhaps two respects. Charles Eliot might well be pleased that Harvard's patrons had created forty-one separate funds providing $750,000 annually for research alone. Similarly, proponents of medical research might take some comfort in the considerable sums donated to that end. Otherwise the picture seems to be one of irregularity and incompleteness. Seven of these universities had regular appropriations for the departmental research (See Budgetary Appropriations, Table 2). Five of the private universities (Cal Tech, Chicago, Cornell, Harvard and Yale) had similar amounts in endowed funds, although they were usually limited to designated departments. And, four (Michigan, Columbia, Pennsylvania and Stanford) appear to be clearly deficient in this respect.

Whether the sums in Table 2 are interpreted to be a lot or a little depends upon whether one looks for reference to the past or to the future. The primary reliance upon individual philanthropy had succeeded in the first two decades of the century in greatly augmenting the research capacity of these universities. In the midwestern state universities where this approach had less success legislators had at least partly recognized the need to support directly some university research. In 1920, however, American universities faced

TABLE 2
UNIVERSITY FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, 1920

	Budgetary Approp.	Special Funds	Institutes	Medicine	Agriculture*	Engineering	Number of Research Fellowships
California	$36,000	$19,500	$100,000	$87,870	$7,080		21
Illinois	25,000		3,000	3,500		$26,946	18
Michigan							28
Minnesota	14,420			[1,693,000]**			5
Wisconsin	23,000			19,200	1,000	3,000	10+
Caltech		18,350					9
Chicago		35,860	32,000	3,250			12
Columbia		465		97,701		2,250	32
Cornell		20,514		2,571	44,550		15
Harvard		8,343	118,644	612,603			50
Johns Hopkins	?			207,730			13
M.I.T.	100,000	2,150				330	5
Pennsylvania			?	?			37+
Princeton	21,200						54
Stanford	2,000		[700,000]** ……	1,185			13
Yale		88,740		960			15

*Not including state or federal funds

**Principal

? Funds indicated, but amounts not given

SOURCE: Compiled from "Funds Available in 1920 for the Encouragement of Scientific Research," *Bulletin of the National Research Council*, 9 (1921): 21-54.

considerable demands on existing resources. A near doubling of price levels since the outbreak of the war had squeezed budgets badly, and an enrollment explosion following the war greatly increased their paramount teaching responsibilities. Research by this date was no longer a discretionary expenditure for this set of universities. Given the trends just explicated, however, it seems unlikely that the existing forms of research support could expand in step with the needs of science. In the previous thirty years the American research universities had devised the basic organizational machinery to accommodate both teaching and research; yet as they entered the 1920s the funds needed to drive that machinery were by no means assured. In the following years this role would be gradually fulfilled by the major philanthropic foundations.[64]

NOTES

1. This study is substantially drawn from my larger work, *American Research Universities in the Twentieth Century, 1900-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). The "research universities" are: California, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, MIT, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Yale and after 1920 Caltech.

2. Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

3. David Starr Jordan, "To What Extent Should the University Investigator Be Relieved from Teaching," *Journal of Proceedings And Addresses of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Association of American Universities* 7 (1906):24 (hereafter cited as *JAAU*).

4. Laurence Veysey, "Stability and Change in the American Undergraduate Curriculum" in Carl Kaysen, ed. *Content and Context* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 23-26.

5. Harvard University, *President's Report* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1901) p.34. The best general discussion of this issue is provided by Hugh Hawkins, "University Identity: The Teaching and Research Functions," in *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920*, eds. Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979), p.312.

6. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Third Annual Report* (New York: 1908), pp. 134-43.

7. Ibid. p. 137.

8. Floyd W. Reeves et al., *The University Faculty. The University of Chicago Survey*, 12 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), 3:94. *Official Bulletin* No.2 of the University (April 1891) also stipulates that classes were not to exceed 30 students. In fact, the Chicago

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faculty was inadequate for these standards: Richard Storr, *Harper's University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 61n, 353. Also see table 1.

9. "Encouragement of University Research: Report of Committee R," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors* 8 (April 1922): 27-39.

10. Reeves et al., *University Faculty*, pp. 194-95.

11. *CIW Yearbook*, 1 (1902): 15-21, 83, 164, 168, 173, 234. Contributors to the forum in *Science* often made this same point. 16 (1902): 460-9 & passim.

12. Ibid., p. 85.

13. Paul Forman, John Heilbron, and Spencer Weart, "Physics Circa 1900: Personnel, Funding, and Productivity of the Academic Establishments,"*Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences* 5 (1975): 120-23, and Morris L. Cooke, "Academic and Industrial Efficiency," Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Bulletin No. 5* (New York: 1910).

14. Guido H. Marx, "The Problem of the Assistant Professor," *JAAU* 11 (1910):17-46. Comments ranged from, "Have ideal research position," to "Have had almost no time for past five years for research or investigation." Ibid., p. 28.

15. William James, "The Ph.D. Octopus,"[*Harvard Monthly* (1903)] *Educational Review*, *55* (April 1918): 149-57; and Hawkins, "University Identity," pp. 302-5.

16. See Ira Remsen, comments, "University Investigator," *JAAU* 7 (1906): 49.

17. Charles R. Van Hise, "The Opportunities for Higher Instruction and Research in State Universitites," *JAAU* 6 (1905): 55.

18. H.B Hutchins, "Should Men Bearing the Same Title in Any Institution Receive the Same Pay?," *JAAU* 8 (1906): 92-106.

19. Hawkins, "University Identity," p. 292. The position of post-docs would seem to belong to this short-lived tradition. A large gift from Pennsylvania provost Charles Harrison established post-doctoral research fellowships there in 1895, and these funds were enlarged in 1904. This kind of position does not seem to have been copied elsewhere before 1920. University of Pennsylvania, *Annual Reports of the Provost* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1896, 1904) 1896, pp. 99-102, 175-79; and 1904, pp. 91-94.

20. "University Investigator," discussion, *JAAU* 7 (1906): 48-51.

21. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstenson, *The University of Wisconsin: A History*, 2 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 2: 60-61; Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 358; and Nathan Reingold and Ida H. Reingold, *Science in America: A Documentary History, 1900-1939* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 144-45.

22. Reingold and Reingold, *Science in America*, p.145.

23. For example, Titchener had a personality that was certainly comfortable with special treatment, if not demanding of it. Hans Eigenmann, a research professor in ichthyology at Indiana, raised a good deal of research money for the university himself, and Illinois had a research professorship in material engineering, a subject easily justified by its practical usefulness.

24. Hawkins, "University Identity," p. 303; and Cooke, "Efficiency."

25. Edwin Slosson perceived the inherent long-term contradiction in the position of preceptor: if they seek to advance in their profession, then "they have the same faults as younger instructors elsewhere. On the other hand, if a man is contented to remain a preceptor all his life, ...will he be the most inspiring and profitable of associates for young men?" *Great American Universities* (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1910), p.85.

26. President Hadley of Yale warned, "there is nothing more fatal to the efficiency of a department than the maintenance in its teaching force of a number of reasonably good instructors who are kept because they can teach moderately well, but who have little promise of inspiring either associates or their students to work of really high grade and who keep out from the faculty men of less experience but more promise." Yale University, *President's Report* (New Haven: Yale University, 1910), p. 22.

27. Regarding trends in the development of departments, see Evarts B. Greene, "Departmental Administration in American Universities," *JAUU* 13 (1911): 17-35.

28. Hardin Craig, *Woodrow Wilson at Princeton* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 90-98.

29. Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University, 1874-89* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 156; and, "University Identity," p. 292.

30. Yale University, *Annual Report*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1910), pp. 42-43.

31. Eliot commented: "The institution called the 'sabbatical year' has been decidedly useful to the University, having indeed, but one drawback—namely, that a teacher with a family and no resources but his salary can hardly avail himself of it." Harvard University, *President's Report*, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1901), p. 13; and Marx, "Assistant Professors," pp. 19-24.

32. *JAAU* 21 (1919): 50.

33. *JAAU* 17 (1915): 54.

34. Armin O. Leuschner, "The Organization of the Graduate School and Its Relation to the Other Schools of the University," *JAAU* 17 (1915): 41-43. Faculty research committees were advocated as early as 1911, and one was apparently created at Minnesota. *JAAU* (1911): 37, 42. Stanford had adopted arrangements identical to California's by 1920, but allocated only $2,000 for these purposes. Stanford University, *President' Report* (Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University, 1921); and see table 2 below.

35. *JAAU* 22 (1920): 49-50.

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41. Howard S. Miller, *Dollars for Research: Science and Its Patrons in Nineteenth-Century America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), pp. 159-62.

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48. Verne A. Stadtman, *University of California, 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970) pp. 206-9.

49. Josua L. Chamberlain, ed., *the University of Pennsylvania* (Boston: 1901), pp. 160-61, 144-46. For the controversy over the Babylonian expedition, see Paul Ritterband & Harold Wechsler, "A Message to Lushtamer: The Hilprecht Controversy and Semitic Scholarship in America, *History of Higher Education Annual* 1 (1981): 5-41.

50. These examples are drawn from the indicated annual reports.

51. E.g. "gifts...are obtained by solicitation by the heads of departments..." University of Michigan, (1901), p. 37.

52. Columbia University, *Treasurer's Report* (New York: Columbia University, 1903); and Harvard University *Treasurer's Reports* (Cambridge: Harvard University). The Harvard Library was not self-supporting either before or after the 1890s. See Lane, "Harvard College Library," p. 621.

53. Forman, Heilbron and Weart, *Physics Ca. 1900* pp. 83-89; and Carl G. Bernhard et al., eds., *Science, Technology and Society in the Time of Alfred Nobel* (New York: Pergamon, 1982).

54. See Geiger, *Research Universities*.

55. Yale University, *President's Report* (New Haven: Yale University, 1911) pp. 21-27.

56. Harvard University, *President's Report* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1901), pp. 34-41. Substantially the same message is repeated by Eliot in his 1905 President's Report (pp. 48-49).

57. Van Hise, "Opportunities," p. 57.

58. Cornell University, *President's Report* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1910), also summarized in *Science* 32 (1910): 695-701.

59. See Geiger, *Research Universities*.

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61. Yale University, *Treasurer's Report*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1914), p. 25.

62. Stanford University, *President's Report* (Palo Alto, Cal.: Stanford University, 1921), p. 35.

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Donald Davidson's Cultural Conservative Critique of the New University Movement in the South

John H. Kohler III

Donald Davidson who was born in 1893 and died in 1968 was a poet, social critic, literary critic and Professor of English at Vanderbilt University. By his own admission, he was Victorian, conservative and old-fashioned, a little ill at ease in the twentieth century. He was also a prolific and talented writer producing many volumes of poetry and social and literary criticism, as well as four durable textbooks, a two-volume history of the Tennessee River, and numerous essays, editorials and reviews spanning his professional career. Associated with Vanderbilt from 1909 when he entered as a freshman student with "a $100 loan and a little odd cash" until his death, four years after retirement, Davidson produced a critique of modern tendencies in higher education that embodied the main principles of conservative agrarian thought but differed from it in significant ways.

During the period of Davidson's long association with Vanderbilt, the institution changed from a well-endowed denominational college with attached professional schools and university pretentions into a major Southern university. Along its road to success, Vanderbilt experienced much of the confusion of purpose and many of the changes characteristic of the emergent American university in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historian Frederick Rudolph has described this "new university movement" as a transformation in higher education which included the decline of the classics, the adoption of the elective system and the expansion of course offerings in the sciences and social sciences. It also witnessed the rise of graduate schools in the arts and sciences, a new spirit of vocationalism, and the addition of professional schools into the university structure.[2] Davidson, a product of the old-college ideal still prevalent during his undergraduate years, was an articulate critic of that transformation as it occurred at Vanderbilt.

Davidson came to Vanderbilt as an undergraduate with a classical preparation, the best that Southern academies of the time could offer, and there he studied literature. His student years were interrupted by the necessity of teaching school to raise tuition fees and by service as an army lieutenant in

World War I. He returned to Vanderbilt in 1920 as Instructor and part-time graduate student and completed his M.A. degree in 1922. He was promoted to Assistant Professor of English in 1924 and remained on the faculty until his retirement forty years later.[3] After joining the faculty Davidson began to write poetry as a result of his association with a literary circle of friends, students, and other teachers at Vanderbilt who subsequently published *The Fugitive*, a seminal journal of poetry and literary criticism in the Southern Literary Renaissance. Along with John Crowe Rawson, Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren, he was one of the early Fugitive poets who later turned aesthetics and regional loyalties into social criticism, attacking the materialism and commercialism which accompanied the rapid rise of industrialism in the South during the 1920s. Stung by the criticism focused on the South by Northern newspapers in the aftermath of the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, the poets assembled a group of twelve like-minded Southerners, most of whom were associated with Vanderbilt, to counter the charges of provincialism and ignorance with *I'll Take My Stand* (1930), an enduring defense of traditional Agrarian culture and an agressive critique of American industrial society. Following the publication of this "Southern Manifesto," Davidson became a leading figure in the Southern agrarian movement. Of the Vanderbilt poets, he alone was never able to withdraw from the social battlefield outlined in 1930. Always faithful to his chosen role of traditionalist, Southerner and citizen social critic, Davidson continued to develop a biting conservative critique. In the 1930s, he turned his attention to developments in higher education. In many respects, he embodied at Vanderbilt the tradition of liberal culture described by Lawrence R. Veysey in *The Emergence of the American University*.

According to Veysey's interpretation, the old-time college ideals of broad learning in classical languages, religious piety, and mental discipline were replaced between 1870 and 1910 by the three competing philosophies of utility, research, and liberal culture. Along with the dramatic expansion of new state universities and the elective system, social utility and specialized research reflected the new role of higher education in American life. Advocates of liberal culture, however, defended a unified body of humanistic knowledge and bemoaned the encroachment in academe of business ethics, commercialism and college football. They opposed pure research, the growing influence of natural science, the expansion of the social sciences and the growth of professional schools. They identified with the conservative, genteel tradition in American letters: their purpose was to "diffuse standards of cultivated taste" and produce an elite body of well-rounded gentlemen.[4] Veysey concluded that while each philosophy had viable and recognizable proponents before 1900, no one philosophy triumphed exclusively anywhere. But by 1910 a new pattern had emerged and liberal culture, a conservative survivor of the old college ideal, was fast losing its influence in higher education.[5]

Criticism of the new pattern continued, however, throughout the first half of the twentieth century. For example, radical sociologist Thorstein Veblen, who championed the new goals of research and graduate study, feared in 1918 that the "intrusion of business principles" characteristic of the new university movement would "weaken and retard the pursuit of learning" and "defeat the ends for which a university is maintained."[6] But the bulwark of resistance both before and after 1910 came from culturally conservative academics like the New Humanists who supported a curriculum counterrevolution in the 1920s. Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, who as leaders of the New Humanist movement vigorously attacked the new directions in higher education, called for a return to the humanistic standards and the unified curriculum of the past. They supported the general eduction movement of the 1920s which represented an "attempt to capture some of the sense of a continuing intellectual and spiritual heritage that had fallen victim to the elective principle."[8]

Both the New Humanists and the Southern Agrarians have been characterized by Ronald Lora, in *Conservative Minds in America*, as cultural conservatives, a unique constituency in the history of American conservative thought. Lora describes them as apolitical, possessing a systematic philosophy which transcends economic or political considerations of self-interest, respecting high aesthetic standards, and honoring the traditions and achievements of the past over the present state of affairs.[9] They retained an essentially religious world view in an age dominated by science and empirical knowledge. They valued social harmony, organic growth, and the most durable ideals of Western culture. Far more significant in literary circles and academic life than in politics or government, they were labeled the "superfluous men" by Robert Crunden.[10] As a group, they have provided a continuing critique of the modern university.

Davidson's cultural conservative critique of higher education is significant in several respects. First, it provides an interesting case study of the Veysey thesis at Vanderbilt. The new university structure Veysey described occurred in the Northeast and West where the transformation in higher education developed much earlier than in the South. The post-Reconstruction South lagged as far behind other regions in educational growth and development as it did in social and economic change. Vanderbilt, for example, did not adopt an elective system until the eve of World War I. Many of the changes in organizational structure and curriculum which had occurred at Harvard, the University of Chicago, and Stanford before 1900, were implemented at Vanderbilt in the 1920s and 1930s.

Second, Davidson's critique illustrates the seemingly infinite variety in cultural conservative thought. While cultural conservatives might share a number of Burkean assumptions about right order and ultimate principles, they seldom presented a uniform, rationally coherent perspective. The Agrarians, for example, made a special point in *I'll Take My Stand* to distinguish their concrete view of old South culture from what they considered the abstract, classical view of culture endorsed by the New Humanists. His conservatism was guided by a highly personal interpretation of the concept of tradition which is characterized in this essay as a tribal world view.

Thus, while his critique of the new university movement at Vanderbilt reflects many of the conventional attitudes and ideas of earlier proponents of liberal culture described by Veysey, his unique qualities as a cultural conservative caused him to endorse certain progressive proposals, such as the "project method" in education of William Heard Kilpatrick, which were generally anathema to other academic conservatives. After a treatment of Davidson's conservative critique of the "new university" as the movement developed at Vanderbilt and a review of his more general critique of the transformation in higher education, his unique view of tradition and his relationship with progressivism will be discussed.

Davidson and Vanderbilt

Davidson's critique is representative of the cultural conservative belief that higher education had erred in adopting wholesale the new goals of social utility and research. In contrast, Vanderbilt University, particularly under James Kirkland, Chancellor from 1893 to 1937, became associated with the new philosophy. Kirkland desired for Vanderbilt to be national rather than regional, to be progressive and liberal rather than conservative, to champion research and professional schools at the expense of the old school philosophy and to epitomize and lead the New South in the social, economic, and cultural transformation.

Kirkland, an institution builder and a Southern progressive in step with each advance of the "New South," represented the new style of academic executive. He had a clear conception of the function of a modern university and the role such an institution could play in the reconstruction of the Southern region. Despite the fact that his educational background was in the classics as a Latin scholar, he embraced the new goals of research and utility. Within two years of his election to the Chancellorship, for example, Kirkland had brought the medical school, which was an independent corporation governed by the professionals who staffed it, under the control of the Board of Trust.[11] He also steered Vanderbilt away from a sectarian orientation that had troubled the university in the 1880s. "We are working for the cause of education in the broadest sense," he said, not just for the benefit of Methodism, but "for the good of the whole country. No spirit of narrowness or prejudice controls us here."[12] It was this attitude that eventually brought him into conflict with the Methodist Conference over administrative control of faculty appointments and university operations and precipitated the chain of events starting in 1904 which led to the university's severance of denominational ties in 1914.[13]

Kirkland's first priority following independence from church control was a new medical school and hospital facility for the university, funded largely by the Carnegie Foundation and the General Education Board. These were new sources of revenue which had been difficult to secure while the University retained its denominational identity and control. During World War I, he introduced the elective system in the undergraduate program and encouraged the development of new courses in the social and natural sciences. He used the occasion of Vanderbilt's Semi-Centennial Celebration in 1925 to announce plans for developing an expanded program of graduate studies in the Arts and Sciences.[14] The bulk of the money raised in that year's Four Million Dollar campaign was designated for the growth of graduate programs in the natural and social sciences. The General Education Board, for example, had earmarked its contribution of $1,300,000 (to be matched by others) for development of the natural sciences to support the medical school in which they had just invested so much.

By 1930, Vanderbilt was thus well on its way toward becoming a "new university." There had been some concern among older liberal arts faculties that a disproportionate amount of money had been spent on the graduate and professional schools at the expense of other parts of the University, but Kirkland argued that foundation money had been available only for these programs and they could lead the rest of the university towards higher academic standards.

Davidson's earliest criticism was directed at the growth of an administrative bureaucracy at Vanderbilt. In a letter to his friend Allen Tate in 1929, he wrote that "the Chancellor and his small circle of advisors. . .have created an organization that is becoming unmanageable from sheer size and utter lack of policy."[15] In "A Mirror for Artists", his essay for *I'll Take My Stand*, the following year, he further lamented the sheer impossibility of communicating the humanities "under systems of education, gigantic in their scope, that have become committed to industrial methods of administration—the entire repulsive fabric of standards, credits, units, scientific pedagogy, over-organization."[16]

Yet Davidson was not a consistent opponent of Kirkland's Vanderbilt. His rewarding experiences as a student and, later, a faculty member in the English department mitigated his opposition. Edwin Mims, chairman of the department from 1912 until his retirement in 1941, is a pivotal figure in explaining Davidson's attitude.[17] Mims was an admirer of Kirkland and a proponent of his views. In contrast to Davidson and the Agrarians, his response to the Scopes trial had been *The Advancing South*, a chronicle and celebration of New South liberalism and industrialism. He found the poetry of the Fugitives too experimental for his taste, and he was personally opposed to the anti-industrial philosophy of the Agrarians; yet he presided over an English department which became a haven for advocates of liberal culture.

All of his faculty had been Vanderbilt undergraduates and most had been students of his. All of them had been associated with the English department during the intellectually exciting Fugitive-Agrarian periods. Three of the authors in *I'll Take My Stand* were senior faculty and four others were students or former students, and all of them viewed their work as both scholarly and literary. Despite the fact that the department established a Ph.D. program, it never succumbed totally to research and scholarship; rather, it maintained allegiance to creative work, which was bolstered by the early success of the *Fugitive* magazine, the critical success of *I'll Take My Stand*, and the growing literary reputations of several members of the department. Despite his disagreement with many of their views, Mims had great respect for his faculty. He recognized, long before official Vanderbilt would choose to, that the Fugitive-Agrarian movement was the genesis of an important literary tradition, and he gave it what support he could.[18]

Yet, Davidson felt a growing sense of isolation from the central Vanderbilt administration, especially after the publication of *I'll Take My Stand*. As early as 1932, he advised Allen Tate that a meeting of Southern writers "under Vanderbilt's sponsorship" might not be wise. "Furthermore," he said,

> I have long since passed the point of wishing to ask anything whatsoever, in the way of promoting the welfare of Southern life and art at the knees of the present administration. They seem to me hostile to all I believe in.[19]

During the 1930s, Davidson was involved in a direct challenge to Kirkland's "new university" at Vanderbilt. The challenge came as a part of the general reaction to the elective system in the 1920s and 1930s. Kirkland, who had led the university to adopt the elective system, now led a curriculum review designed to solve some of the problems the system had caused. But he had no intention of restoring the old classical curriculum. The elective system had served as the mechanism which allowed the growth of the natural and social sciences, and they would not be dislodged. Kirkland's main concern was to establish a structure which would clearly distinguish between upper and lower division courses, which he believed to be necessary in light of the growth of the Graduate School. He sought specialized curriculum for upper division work which would articulate better with the Graduate School. He also sought various mechanisms to ensure that students had achieved desired levels of competency before they were admitted to senior level work.

Davidson and fellow Agrarians John Ransom from the English department and Lyle Lanier from psychology were among the liberal arts faculty who saw the curriculum review as an opportunity to restore something of the old college ideal. Sides were drawn over the issue, with the Chancellor, the Deans and most heads of departments, including Edwin Mims, on one side and the educational conservatives, or "revolutionaries" as they were called at the time, on the other. The "revolutionaries" dominated the junior and senior college committees which were established to review the curriculum and develop reform proposals. Lanier, who had served on one of the committees, argued that his group was not seeking a "revolutionary break with Vanderbilt's previous course of development" as critics had charged but rather was conservative in intent.

> This program would restore to the liberal arts course what we have described as the essential educational virtues of the classical curriculum, but at the same time it would retain the really valuable features of the elective system.[20]

On March 7, 1937, Davidson wrote a long letter to Kirkland and the university's board of governors outlining his position regarding the proposed changes. Davidson opened with a charge, frequently made in this period, that he had been handicapped in the preparation of his memorandum "by the lack of free and open exchange of opinion among the faculty in general;" nevertheless, he said it had been his "inclination from the first" to look "very favorably upon the general purposes and the faithful and thorough-going work of our two committees."[21] He was most pleased that the reforms supported certain principles and made those principles the basis for recommended changes, in contrast to the general drift that had developed over the years causing the College of Arts and Sciences, like other similar institutions, to assume a "motley, if not nondescript character."

> Somewhere in it there still lurks the ghost of the College which I attended in 1909-10 and 1914-16. That old college represented the liberal nineteenth century ideal: as much general education as possible, in required "cultural subjects (science being rated as a cultural subject)," with the least possible concession to the applied sciences and vocational skills. Now this ghost of the old time inhabits a tenement with an imposing liberal arts facade behind which addition upon addition has been piled up, without much regard to the original architectural design. We preserve the fiction of the general or liberal education; but in practice we lean more and more toward the vocational and special thing. . .A

> college thus constituted can hardly be said to express any other principle than a determination to survive on whatever shifting, pragmatic basis may seem expedient. . .We are neither a technical school nor a liberal arts college, but we are a mixture of the two, with an added flavor of the graduate school. . .[22]

Davidson also implied that it was time for a showdown between cultural and vocational courses; if a decision between them were delayed, the institution would risk its prestige.[23] In a sense, that showdown occurred in a special faculty meeting several weeks later when Kirkland presented the administration's plan for changes in the curriculum. Compared with the volumes of material prepared by the faculty committees, the administrations's proposal was brief. It represented a step away from an uncontrolled elective system, but it was not a large enough step to please the conservative "revolutionaries" on the faculty.

Kirkland presented his recommendation, the Dean of the Graduate School moved that it be adopted, and Madison Sarratt of the Mathematics department (later Dean of Students) seconded the motion. According to Thomas Daniel Young, Ransom then rose from his seat and "proposed as a substitute motion" that Kirkland's recommendation "be committed to further study." The motion was "vigorously debated," and at one point, Kirkland surrendered the chair to argue for defeat of the substitute motion. "After more than an hour of discussion," wrote Young, "the question was called—the chairman cautioning the auditors not to count the vote of anyone below the rank of assistant professor—and Ransom's motion lost by a vote of 26 to 27."[24] One observer remarked that reforms offered by the committees had been "crushed by fiat" and the faculty "reprimanded almost insultingly by the Chancellor."[25] Davidson, who felt that the whole episode was "an insult to the faculty," was sure the proposal would not have passed without the "blatant and obvious coercion" of Kirkland.[26]

The morale of liberal culture advocates had reached a low point. Their reforms had failed, they believed that important functions traditionally performed by faculty were being usurped by the administration, and they felt there was little sympathy among administration leaders for their commitment to a liberal education devoted to "culture". It was against this background of educational change in his own university in the 1920s and 1930s that Davidson began to express in lectures and essays his views on new developments in higher education.

The Conservative Stance: Quality vs. Quantity

In many respects, Davidson's was similar to other conservative voices of the 1920s calling attention to what he referred to as the blind drift of education in a valueless, materialistic society. "The prime reason for the existence of an educational institution," he said, "is that it preserves the continuity of human knowledge and tradition. Thus it is necessarily conservative in the highest meaning of the term."[27] Like other conservatives who stood for the old ideal of the cultivated gentleman, he emphasized quality over quantity, humanistic standards, and resistance to narrow specialization and social utility. When push came to shove, he was an educational elitist. The dualism of quality vs. quantity in education had a specific meaning for Davidson: it paralled the dualism of Agrarian vs. Industrial presented earlier in *I'll Take My Stand.* "To the sprawling America of commerce and applied science," said Davidson in a 1934 Phi Beta Kappa address, "our cause," [quality of education] "is a lost cause, and our devotion is quixotic and defiant, if not a little ridiculous."

> The scorn of that America is understandable enough. It is an America that is devoted to sheer ponderosity, where the worth of a city is measured by the gross output of its manufacturers and the tallness of its buildings. It is an America of mass-production which generates wealth in order to engage in still more mass-production. It measures life in terms of material results. Its standards are quantity standards.[28]

Davidson saw the standards of quality and quantity in conflict within higher education, and he felt that the erosion of quality was the inevitable result of the success of its flourishing rival. The humanitites, which were "cultural rather than utilitarian," had earlier served as the safeguard of quality. In "the deeper sense," said Davidson, "the Humanities are the studies which deal with the human quality of our life rather than its purely mechanical and material substance." In contrast to the prevailing mood, "they declare life not to be measurable in quantity alone, but it is to be measured and governed by aesthetic, moral, and religious considerations which can be discovered in our historic past."[29] The classical curriculum had been humanistic in content, even the study of mathematics which subsequently had been reduced to mere "calculation" and "simplified down to bare utilitarian processes." But new sciences taught in the university abandoned even the attempt to play a cultural role. "They have an instrumental direction," Davidson said. "The student of geology expects to become an oil prospector. The organic chemistry major is looking for a job in a rayon mill."[30] It was after all, in the nature of science "to busy itself with the non-human rather than the human aspects of existence. . ." While science and the scientific method in their proper role were certainly valuable, "toward what we are callng quality," he said, "science is fundamentally irresponsible."[31]

Not content to remain in its own sphere, Davidson warned the doctrine of applied science was taking over other disciplines. The study of history was more concerned with scientific technique than with conveying the rich complexity of a cultural heritage. The "course of human events" was made to seem as "cold and remote as modern astronomy." It was little more than "a chart of population movements and economic pressures." The student, reading the version of history "written by economic determinists like [Charles A.] Beard and [Arthur M.] Schlesinger,"

> can nowhere learn that human beings have moulded great events by personal decision and individual character. The lesson is that we are the prey of anonymous social forces in whose creeping path we lie paralyzed.[32]

Like other advocates of liberal culture, Davidson too, feared that the new sciences such as "economics, sociology, and their offshoots" were expanding and "ambitiously extending their scope."

> They are now inclined to take history, literature, and the arts as coming within their kingdom. The result of the invasion is still in doubt, but there is no doubt of the direction or the intent. The great tradition of letters is about to be put to the ordeal of the test-tube, and English literature threatens at any moment to become either sociology or Freudian psychology or Marxian economics.[33]

The reason that American education could no longer "cultivate a standard of quality" was because by progressive steps it had "been engaged in driving the humanities from a place in the educational curriculum." This left the English teacher in the increasingly difficult position of "having to carry the accumulated load of cultural responsibility that all the other subjects [were] leaving out." As a consequence, literature, in his view, was becoming unintelligible to rising generations of students. Thus he noted a dilemma which advocates of the "Great Books" had failed to solve. What the student "encounters in the masterpieces," said Davidson, "is a complexity of cultural assumptions that are no longer assumed."[34] The curriculum was abandoning this responsibility and the community was forsaking its own educative role

"Neither from his school nor his home," said Davidson, has the student "gathered the overtones of meaning that came in other days from the Bible, the political oration, the sermon, the conversation of respected and eloquent elders."[35] The student was thus isolated from the "tangle of mythologies, religions, histories, political faiths, and personalities" which provided the context of great literature and gave it meaning. "The humanistic culture," he wrote,

> at its best, may be regarded as the collective wisdom of the race, made memorable in literature. Its merit diminishes as it becomes the special property of a class or a profession, or as it is reserved for the scattered occasions when people play at being artistic; its merit grows as it naturally permeates every circumstance of our lives.[36]

Davidson's belief that the collective wisdom of the race was enshrined in literature placed a special obligation upon the English teacher. To Davidson, the true role of the English teacher was nothing less than the vatic "burden of transmitting the historic culture. . ."[37] Moreover, the English teacher was almost "the last official preceptor and interpreter of the old culture and almost the only influential person of learning who [had] an effective standard with which to measure the new culture."[38]

Like other liberal culturists, Davidson deemphasized the significance of academic research vis-a-vis teaching. "Enormously valuable as research is," he wrote, "it is not in this age the indispensable part of the tradition of letters." What was needed was gifted teachers whose acquaintances with humanistic culture "suffused their character and made them magnanimous and winning."[39] Like his general critique of society, Davidson's critique of the new values in higher education reflects a strong attachment to the concept of tradition. Tradition as manifested in past culture is intellectually rich and complex; the present, in contrast, is simple, utilitarian, and narrowly directed toward materialistic goals. The English teacher is a carrier of tradition; his responsibility is the maintenance of an organic continuity between past and present.

A Tribal World View

In some respects, however, Davidson held a unique view of tradition which caused his critique of higher education to diverge from that of other conservatives. While he stood for high standards and the cultivated life of the mind, he did not agree with educational conservatives like the New Humanists who viewed tradition as the literary inheritance of Western classical learning, the high culture and humane values enshrined in the Great

Books. He complained that the New Humanists sought to pour culture in from the top with their call for "a return, if possible, to pure classical tradition and discipline."[40] In contrast, Davidson thought of culture in anthropological rather than aesthetic terms. "We like to talk so much about 'culture,'" he said,

> as if it were altogether a matter of books and profound artistic tastes to be acquired by purchase or industrious application. But culture, as I think of it, affects our entire way of life in every detail and is not a robe we put on for special occasions. It can be and ought to be, a matter of pots and pans, of tables, chairs, and quilts, of cooking and sewing and carpentering, and numerous other things which our mechanical age tends to despise and cheapen for the promise of some "higher life" not yet visible on the horizon.[41]

Culture ought not be thought of as "an abstract moral 'check' derived from the classics—it was not soft material poured in from the top."[42] It was instead the shared experiences of communal work and play found in traditional agrarian societies. It was reflected in the folk songs, tales and myths of a people and it could fortify their spirits when crops failed or danger lurked. Culture and art should be manifested in the immediate products of human experience, in ballads, in customs, and in hand-crafted furniture.

Davidson thought of tradition as the "vital stream behind history and behind all the cultural elements going into the making of modern man."[43] This conceptualization appeared concrete and specific in his writing, because it was associated with the folkways and handicrafts of a rural lifestyle; but it was ultimately intangible, even mystical. As Louise Cowan, one of his most perceptive readers, has written, Davidson conceived that

> Tradition exists among members of a society, who have a real, though spiritual, bond and a cumulative and undying history which they—and their ancestors—have created. One comes to share in this tradition not by retrospections but by communion and pietas.[44]

To understand the culture of a specific region or group of people one must be a member of the tribe. Thus Davidson approached the concept of culture through a study of his own region. It was not, however, the high culture of the antebellum South which attracted his attention. Davidson was always drawn, as historian Lewis Simpson has noted, toward

> a kind of primitive culture—almost tribal, self-subsistent, semi-intellectual or perhaps anti-intellectual—rooted in a

> religious faith simple in its fundamentalism yet intricately irrational.[45]

When Davidson wrote about culture, he had in mind a legacy which connected the Tennessee frontiersman of the 18th century with their Anglo-Saxon tribal forefathers many centuries removed. It was embedded in and ultimately inseparable from an evolutionary social matrix of remote origin. He had "a certain empathy," wrote Simpson,

> for a kind of bed rock paganism. He had a conception of the sensibility unified in a pre-print, even pre-literate, pre-historical age—in a culture existing in and through an organic traditional consciousness, as opposed to an articulated historical consciousness; in a community formed long before the differentiation of the realms of state, church, and letters. This vision, if never fully developed and forever in conflict with his wide learning and his role as a member of the academic policy of letters, constantly underlay the activity of Davidson's mind.[46]

Like anthropologists, Davidson viewed culture as a complex whole which included knowledge, belief, customs, religion, rituals and art. But where contemporary anthropologists would separate observable behavior and the ideas and values which lie behind and cause behavior, this distinction would have little meaning for the tribal membership under scrutiny. Like the tribalists, Davidson sought to accentuate the relationship of idea and object and to construct a pre-industrial, pre-literate tribal image of cultural unity.

This desire for unity is reflected in his description of the ideal relationship between the high arts and the folk arts of a society.

> When the subject matter of the popular lore belongs natively to those who make the high art, as much as to the people, and does not need to be hunted or reclaimed; and when the high art is not too subtle and complex to serve as a functional instrument for the popular lore—in that time we shall approach the ideal condition.[47]

He was convinced that before the industrial revolution had separated people and forced them into narrow specialties they had enjoyed a "harmony of culture" which

> extended from the lowest—if you will the most vulgar—occupations to the highest. A patchwork quilt, a chair, a

> ballad, a sermon, a poem, an oration, a house, a portrait of one's grandfather—all partook of qualities closely akin. Art was not separated from life in the sense it is today.[48]

The good society was culturally homogeneous; the high arts and the popular arts were in symbiotic balance. But the modern, industrial economy had shattered this organic cultural unity, and the modern university movement with its emphasis on economic utility and rarefied, specialized research was accentuating this destruction rather than retarding it. The "new" university was thus a symptom of a debased and disoriented society.

Davidson's uniqueness as a cultural conservative was due to his faith in folk, or popular culture, as well as in the classical culture of the elite. He had divided loyalties between the high culture of the classics and the popular culture of the common folk. While he was forthright in his defense of the humanities, for example, he did not limit humanistic studies to the body of classical literature. The classical languages were important because they were an integral part of a complex cultural tradition, not because they alone could instill mental discipline or because they represented the only body of valuable knowledge. Humanistic studies, while "technically" defined as the classical languages, were "in a more general sense. . .all subjects. . .that are cultural rather than utilitarian."[49] He could accept the decline of the ancient classics by defending a broader concept of humanism.

Davidson's view of a balance between high and low culture is indicative of his image of the ideal university. Just as in an ideal society high art and popular art were held in an intimate symbiosis, the university should exist in an organic, symbiotic relationship with its community. The basic themes of Davidson's general critique—harmony, balance, and organicism—reappear in his image of the university. The quality of an education, he maintained, is determined by its purpose and its purpose is "determined by the life out of which it grows."[50] This cyclical relationship between school and community was a central theme in his essay "The Crisis in Education". The colleges and universities, he said,

> are places of intellectual ferment, of artistic activity and philosophic speculation, as well as of economic research and studious scholarship. From them now issues, as from the universities of the Middle Ages, a stream of ideas, fructifying and exhilarating, which in its turn passes to the schools, and on to the people, who in their turn should give back again, by reciprocal relation, until our education is really organic with our life.[51]

But the university should not dominate in this relationship. Davidson seemingly had little use for the "ivory tower," the enclosed citadel of learning with its rarefied knowledge and its poetry and literature locked away in libraries. The regional culture, he held, could "enrich the education as much as the education [could] enrich the culture." Educators should seek "to adapt the educational institution to the historic and cultural background of which it is a part, and not embark on the questionable and hazardous task of destroying the background and thus dissociating the students from all sense of place." Under this theory of education, one could "expect the long-neglected folk arts and folk crafts of America to play a larger part in education that they [had] done in the past."[52] On the other hand, local interest should not dominate either. "We would not intend to circumscribe our education too closely," he said, "we should have no use for the purely narrow and parochial."[53] Nevertheless, one of Davidson's main fears was that modern universities, preoccupied with national trends and captured by the new pedagogies, were uprooting young people and teaching them to "despise their homes." One of the first objects of education should be "to make people feel at home." The proper pedagogy then would "begin the educational process at the point where we are, rather than at the point where the machine-conscious philosopher and scientist imagines we might conceivably arrive."[54] The proper point of origin in the cyclical relationship between community and college was the local environment. "There is no reason," he said,

> why our progress should not be through the local and sectional to the national and international. Thomas Jefferson was nonetheless a citizen of the world because Monticello and Virginia came first in his affections and knowledge.[55]

This emphasis on the organic relationship between living and learning and the importance of real life experiences as the basis of curriculum suggests comparisons with progressive rather than conservative educational theories. It was progressive educator John Dewey of Columbia University who held that life itself should provide the subject-matter of the curriculum. For young children, wrote Dewey, "the material is such as lies nearest the child himself, the family life and its neighborhood setting. . .[56]

In fact, Dewey could be as nostalgic as Davidson in recalling the educational virtues of a communal, pre-industrial society. "Those of us who are here today," he wrote in *The School and Society,*

> need to go back only one, two, or at most three generations, to find a time when the household was practically the center in which were carried on, or about which were clustered all

> the typical forms of industrial occupation. . .No number of object-lessons, got up as object-lessons for the sake of giving information, can afford even the shadow of a substitute for acquaintance with the plants and animals of the farm and garden acquired through actual living among them and caring for them. . .[57]

Some have argued that Dewey's quest was to reconstruct this image of the preindustrial household in the school. Davidson, in contrast, used images of an agrarian society as a rebuke to modernity. But both supported an organic view of community, and they should have agreed that living and learning was a single holistic experience. Yet in his critique of the public schools, Davidson singles out progressives, especially John Dewey and Teachers College at Columbia, as principal adversaries. He believed that the progressive school was facilitating the rapid transformation of a culturally diverse country into a centralized, urbanized, standardized, and industrialized society. Unlike Dewey, Davidson did not want to make industrial society more humane by reforming the school; he wanted to stop the spread of industrialism itself.

Davidson felt that an unbridled Jeffersonian individualism should form the basis of education. He returned repeatedly, in essays and lectures, to the same point. "The idea of education," he said, "should mean this to us, if education is more than a name:

> that men and women are not the prey of blind forces that they are helpless to control; that they are not the slaves of machines, of economics, of money, of buildings, or even of books; but they have it in their power to shape the quality of their lives, and that within the limits of nature and the will of God, they can choose and create their destiny.[58]

This commitment to individualism tempted him into the endorsement of educational methods which would have been anathema to other educational conservatives. For example, Davidson applauded the "project method" developed by Kilpatrick, a leading disciple of Dewey at Teacher's College. In "The Crisis in Education," he praised "the teacher's colleges" that he had "elsewhere criticized." The new pedagogy, he believed, was "abandoning regimen and seeking to encourage the individual to creative and critical habits." Even in cultural subjects like history, the new method was an improvement over the "old rigid method of textbook and recitation."

> Instead of memorizing a lesson, the student is set to work out a problem which involves a considerable background of mixed facts. He is expected to exert judgment and gain

> insight. The method, though scientific in its background, is a method of personal inquiry, and seems to me to unite humanism and science, especially if economic determinism is not allowed to occupy the foreground of the picture.[59]

But his defense of individualism more frequently led to cultural conservative themes like variety and diversity. Education, he wrote, should allow, "within limits, for a great deal of individual variation. Education should. . .study how to preserve differences as well as likenesses, for human life has been enriched by human originality and difference more than by ant-like deposits of uniform grains of sand."[60] Davidson cited the "house system" started at Harvard in 1928 as exemplary of the type of arrangement which would foster individualism and variety. "The essence of the system," he said,

> is to establish favorable conditions under which the individual student can work out his own educational destiny. Under friendly guidance he is encouraged to explore and master fields of knowledge upon his own ititiative, rather than race for credits under strict hour-class-department regimen.[61]

He complained that universities had become too "departmentalized" and the "old rigid divisions between subjects [needed] to be broken down."[62] He supported the growth of interdisciplinary courses as a means to retard the process of specialization while fostering the role of the individual. But his commitment to variety in education extended beyond the university. The "variety of occupations and conditions in the United States" should lead to the creation of a "variety of schools that will cater to occupational differences." This mixture of vocational schools and regionally diverse schools of general education would insure that "vocational interests" were met "without displacing cultural needs."[63]

The themes which dominated Davidson's general critique of industrialism underpin his critique of education. Tradition is represented as the synthesis of two cultural streams: the high artistic achievements of classical antiquity and the cultural inheritance of the descendants of Anglo-Saxon barbarians, carried in memory through poetry, the folk arts, crafts, and ballads into the present. The function of the university is to perpetuate this culture through humanistic courses of study and to foster the links between high and low culture by incorporating folk arts into the curriculum. Davidson's own remembrance of college life in the 1910s is reflected in his defense of liberal culture, while the leaders of Vanderbilt promoted the new goals of utility and research. The emphasis on variety and diversity is related to his staunch defense of individualism, a commitment which caused his advocacy of numerous educational innovations opposed by other conservative critics.

Davidson's cultural conservative prescription for education ultimately presumes the existence of an orderly homogeneous society in a state of economic and cultural equilibrium; it is devoid of class conflict and reflects a large degree of value consensus. It is leisurely, non-materialistic, spiritual, heroic, and both rational and romantic. It is a tribal culture and all its visible inhabitants—white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant yeomanry—are members of the tribe.

In his critique of higher education, Davidson was really defending the Old College ideal he experienced at Vanderbilt as an undergraduate. Yet, as much as he might despise the changes occurring in modern universities, he knew all along that the product of this type of education would not fit in the modern world. He knew that the traditional culture that had honored and supported the genteel, well-rounded gentleman was rapidly disappearing. He had said as much in "A Mirror for Artists:"

> The product of a humanistic education in an industrialized age is most likely to be an exotic, unrelated creature—a disillusionist or a dilettante.[64]

Davidson knew that what he really wanted was not so much a different kind of education as a different kind of society. And while he could examine the ways in which the university could be used to foster aspects of a traditional culture, he knew the traditional culture had to come first. The university was a product of a culture, not its creator. Perhaps, he recognized the limits of his critique of higher education in the closing paragraph of his essay "The English Teacher and the Lost Humanities." "All this," he said of his critique, "implies some reformation of our society, which it is not my task to discuss."

NOTES

1. Donald Davidson, *Southern Writers in the Modern World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958), p. 9.

2. For biographical information on Davidson see Thomas Daniel Young and Thomas M. Inge, *Donald Davidson* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1965); Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *The Wary Fugitives, Four Poets and the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).

3. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University, A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 266, 338-339, 452.

4. Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 13.

5. Ibid., pp. 58, 257.

6. Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, c. 1918, 1957), p. 165.

7. For a good summary of the work of these critics, see Michael R. Harris, *Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education, Irving Babbitt, Albert J. Nock, Abraham Flexner, Robert Maynard Hutchins, Alexander Mieklejohn* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1970).

8. Rudolph, *The American College and University*, p. 456.

9. Ronald Lora, *Conservative Minds in America* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1971), p. x.

10. Robert M. Crunden, *The Superfluous Men: Conservative Critics of American Culture, 1900-1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

11. Edwin Mims, *History of Vanderbilt University* (New York: Arno Press, Inc., c. 1948, 1977), pp.206-7.

12. Ibid., p. 191.

13. Ibid., p. 292.

14. Ibid., p. 396.

15. Davidson to Allen Tate, 26 October 1929, in *The Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson and Allen Tate*, edited by John T. Fain and Thomas D. Young (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1974), p. 238.

16. Davidson, et al., *I'll Take My Stand, The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), p. 38.

17. For a closer look at the relationship between liberal Edwin Mims and conservative Donald Davidson see Michael O'Brien, ed. "A Correspondence, 1923-1958: Edwin Mims and Donald Davidson," *Southern Review* 10 (October, 1974): 904-22.

18. Mims attitude toward the literary conservatives in the English department is examined in John H. Kohler, III, "Donald Davidson, A Critique from the Losing side. The Social and Educational Views of a Southern Conservative," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1982), pp. 219-228.

19. Davidson to Tate, 29 October, 1932. Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

20. Lyle Lanier, "A Statement Concerning the Proposed Revision of the Curriculum in the College of Arts and Sciences," p. 5. Undated (probably December, 1936) Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

21. Davidson to James Kirkland, 5 March 1937. Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Thomas Daniel Young, *Gentleman in a Dustcoat, A Biography of John Crowe Ranson* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), p. 268.

25. George Marion O'Donnell to Richard Croom Beatty, 24 June 1937, quoted in Young, *Gentleman in A Dustcoat*, p. 269.

26. Young, *Gentleman in A Dustcoat*, p. 269.

27. Davidson to Kirkland, 5 March 1937. Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

28. Davidson, "Education for Quality," unpublished manuscript, p. 1. Delivered as Phi Beta Kappa address at Agnes Scott College, 1934. Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

29. Ibid., p. 2.

30. Ibid., p. 4.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Davidson, "The English Teacher and the Lost Humanities," *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* (March, 1934) p. 187.

37. Ibid., p. 184.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

40. J. David Hoeveler, Jr., *The New Humanism, A Critique of Modern America. 1900-1940* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p. 110.

41. Davidson, "Antiques, Handcraft," *Tennessean* reprinted in *The Spy Glass, Views and Reviews, 1924-1930*, edited by John Tyree Fain (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1963), p. 183.

42. Davidson, *I'll Take My Stand*, p. xxvi.

43. Louise Cowan, "Donald Davidson 'The Long Street'," *Reality and Myth, Essays in American Literature in Memory of Richmond Croom Beatty*, William E. Walker and Robert L. Welker, eds. (Nashville, Tenn: Vanderbilt University Press, 1964), p. 116.

44. Ibid., p. 101.

45. Lewis P. Simpson, Introduction to reprint edition of *Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. xiii.

46. Lewis P. Simpson, foreword to *Literary Correspondence*, p. xv.

47. Davidson, "Yeats and the Centaur" in *Still rebels, Still Yankees* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), p. 30.

48. Davidson, "Antiques, Handcraft," *Tennessean* in *The Spy Glass*, p. 183.

49. Davidson, "Education for Quality," p. 2.

50. Ibid., p. 14.

51. Donald Davidson, "Crisis in Education," unpublished manuscript, n.d. [mid-1930s], p.23. Special Collections, Joint University Libraries, Nashville, Tennessee.

52. Ibid., p. 22.

53. Davidson, "Education for Quality," p. 17.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. John Dewey, *The Child and the Curriculum and The School and Society*, combined edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, c. 1956, 1971), p. 106.

57. Ibid., pp. 9-12.

58. Davidson, "Crisis in Education," p. 24.

59. Ibid., p. 17.

60. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., p. 22.

64. Davidson, *I'll Take My Stand*, p. 38.

65. Davidson, "The English Teacher and the Lost Humanities," p. 188.

"Oars and the Man": Pleasure and Purpose in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge

by J.A. Mangan

IN THE YEAR OF VICTORIA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE, Hadley Peek, the journalist and author, announced to the English-speaking world through the medium of the *Fortnightly Review* that the last fifteen years had witnessed one of the most remarkable revolutions in popular taste to spread throughout Great Britain and Ireland, not to mention many other countries. Sport of various kinds had become "not only the ruling passion of the people, but well nigh the chief topic of conversation."[1] With greater perception, he would have appreciated that he had witnessed not merely a recreational but an educational evolution. It was not simply social inclination that had changed, but educational fashion. This change in fashion was neither casual nor spontaneous. The "mania" he remarked upon had been introduced deliberately into the upper class educational system. There it became known as "athleticism" and was eventually considered as an unfortunate obsession with physical activities, especially team games. By 1897 it was a feature of life in both the public schools and their "finishing schools," the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for mostly the same reasons. These reasons have been discussed in *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School.*[2] While not excluding Oxford and Cambridge, this study concentrated on the upper class school.

Here the intention is to redress the balance a little, to investigate the "mania" in a Cambridge College where its hold was especially strong, to argue that, as in the schools, the same forces of hedonism, casuistry, pragmatism and idealism were at work; but perhaps most usefully, since the originality now lies in the evidence rather than the argument, to add further to our knowledge of a significant aspect of recent social history—athleticism in the ancient universities. Its consequences were potent. 'Oxbridge' was at the matrix[3] of this hugely influential moralistic ideology disseminated enthusiastically by alumni throughout the public, state and colonial school systems of Motherland and Empire. And the ramifications of ethical inspiration were even more widely dispersed. It is far from notional to suggest that the activities characteristic of the rivers and playing fields of late nineteenth century Oxford and Cambridge were load-bearing supports underpinning the moral structure of British and Imperial society. Attitudes, relationships and administrations owed much to the ethical imperatives of the playing fields.

Life in late nineteenth century Oxford and Cambridge revolved around a public school "nodus of prejudices and predilections."[4] This was scarcely to be wondered at: "the average undergraduate was merely...the average public schoolboy transferred to conditions affording him rather greater scope for his essentially schoolboy impulses."[5] Consequently as William Baker has written: "In a manner never before or since duplicated, late-Victorian and Edwardian university life was an extension of the English public school. It was a sporting life, centered not so much around horses and hounds as around the river, the cricket pitch, and the football field."[6]

The athletic relationship between school and university of course, was cyclical;[7] in this way the "mania" was mutually sustained and reinforced. On its inception in the universities, however, it had a mixed reception. There were cautious advocates. A contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1866 wrote with hesitant approval of passion excited by athletic contests which have "become, to the vast majority of the undergraduates, the great interest of the academic year."[8] Things had got to such a pitch, he argued, that it was now a matter of some doubt as to whether matters of the mind could hold out "before the popular glories of the palaestra." There were outright enthusiasts. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* a little later, laid stress on university sports as "being a main element in teaching a youth to fulfill his baptismal vow by keeping his body in temperance, soberness and chastity."[9] Others were sardonic. T. H. Huxley remarked about the same time: "When I think of the host of pleasant, monied, well-bred young gentlemen, who do a little learning and much boating by Cam and Isis, the vision is a pleasant one; and, as a patriot, I rejoice that the youth of the upper and richer classes of the nation receive a wholesome and manly training, however small may be the modicum of knowledge they gather, in the intervals of this, their serious business."[10] Some attempted a carefully judicious assessment of events. Hippolyte Taine expressed admiration for the 'Oxbridge' cultivation of muscle but felt obliged to deprecate the consequent neglect of the mind.[11] *Punch* was wilfully injudicious in its view of a muscular enthusiasm shared by Freshmen and Fellows.

Who cares a hang for a first in Greats
And Academic glory,
Dull bookworm, come and see the sights
And shut *de Oratore*!
Learn what a thing a man might be

And think to win a pewter
More splendid than a first, like me your Tutor.[12]

Whether enthusiasts or critics, no one disputed the state of affairs. It would not be too exaggerated to adapt the words of the lugubrious Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, Mark Pattison, and remark that for many at Oxford and Cambridge, the colleges were boarding schools in which the elements of rowing were taught to youths.[13] Activities on river and playing field eventually became so pressing that the hour of dinner in college was moved back "from 3 o'clock to 4 o'clock and then to 5 or even later," and eventually "the timing of cricket matches to begin at 12 noon effectively cut down the lectures which could be attended to one per morning."[14] It can be stated with little fear of contradiction that memories of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the second half of Victoria's reign were frequently those of "idle years of cricket, fives, racquets and billiard," when work weighed lightly on the conscience and the river and the games field engrossed many students. One disillusioned Uppingham scholar found Cambridge minds of the time "not in reality much occupied with...lofty themes" and eyes of the time "if open at all, more likely to be fixed on some vision of Cam or Thames than on the deep flowing river of Thought." "The Reign of Athletics is at hand," an astonished undergraduate reported back to Stonyhurst in 1896."[15]

With touching loyality, A. C. Deane boasted that late-Victorian Cambridge was certainly more idle than Oxford. And in *Times Remembered* with a fitting economy of effort he borrowed from A. A. Milne a description of the Cambridge undergraduates of the period, which he asserted, caught them to perfection: "Life, for us, was...rather a rag" and at twenty to be most enjoyed.[16] His point is reinforced by the fictional Cambridge heroes of E. F. Benson[17] drawn from his own experiences and depicted in *The Babe B.A.* and *David of Kings*. In the literary fashion of the time both novels celebrate innocuous pleasures. They are light-weight idylls of leisurely breakfasts, jolly companions, "footer" and boating, and they accurately depict the more innocent aspects of the pleasant lives of well-off, well-fed and well-contented upper class young men, who, when the fance took them, splashed in Byron's Pool, rowed energetically past Romsey Weir or sprinted on Parker's Piece. By the twentieth century, as a consequence of an unabated enthusiasm and an increasing provision for exercise, Charles Tennyson was provoked to comment that "the mechanism of work at the University is as nothing compared with the vast machinery of play...Cambridge life still shows traces of that fundamental principle of British education, the belief that while limitless exercise is essential to the production of a sound body, a sound mind can only be produced by a studious and deliberate inactivity. One is not, therefore, surprised to find sport of all kinds carefully and elaborately organised."[18]

When considering the philistine appetites of Tennyson's undergraduates, it is well to be aware of those with more epicurean tastes, who have written in some number, of the intellectual feast placed before them by learned late nineteenth century academics of the Cambridge colleges. The autobiographical reminiscences of sober, earnest and able intellectuals bear witness to a Cambridge that gloried in learning. G.P. Gooch, for example, remembered of Victorian Cambridge: "For a young man with a healthy appetite there was an almost bewildering choice of fare among the lectures of courses of distinguished visitors."[19]

Many of Gooch's contemporaries would have taken issue with him over his definition of a 'healthy appetite.' The Jesuan don, Foakes Jackson, has left this desolate description of the response to two of the most distinguished late nineteenth century university lecturers, Lightfoot and Wescott: "The behaviour of the audience was not edifying. The virtuous attended and took notes, the studious devoted themselves to their own subjects and read books bearing on them, the frivolous read novels, the utterly profane played surreptitious games of cards, the rest slept."[20] The caveat of Rowland Prothero, therefore, is not to be lightly discarded: "Life at the University has been too exclusively described in the autobiographies of men whose subsequent careers were only the fruition of their brilliant triumphs at school and college. Both in boyhood and youth, they belonged to that distinguished minority who made the fullest use of their educational opportunities."[21] This is a point of substance. There were, in reality, three Cambridges: predominantly of the mind, predominantly of the body and of both mind and body. In short, there were reading men, rowing men and men who attempted both. All three types persisted throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras. W.E. Heitland recalled, that in the 1860s, the "quiet reading men...often went for long walks in the country...[they] meant close companionship and exchange of views, and were in truth, a valuable part of the varied processes that made up university training"[22] The longevity of this life style is well illustrated by the experiences of Arthur Eddington who, as a hard-working and reserved undergraduate at Trinity College in 1902, could not afford time for football or cricket but enjoyed strenuous walks with a fellow undergraduate of like persuasion.[23] In contrast to such inoffensive exercises, non-reading men who, according to Heitland were many in his day, did not have enough harmless amusements as analgesics against the pain of occasional contemplation. They despised walking: "the exercise was too humdrum to suit youths with no ideas to exchange and prone to intellectual test."[24]

Intellectual Cambridge has been described by Leonard Woolf, who wroteof his *Seelenfreundshaft* with Lytton Stratchey, Saxon Sydney-Turner and Thoby Stephen at the time of the Boer War; "We were intellectuals...with three genuine and, I think, profound passions: a passion for friendship, a passion for literature and music (and)...a passion for what we called the truth."[25] In search of absolutism these sceptics certainly got more genuine pleasure from the close scrutiny of George Moore's *Principia Ethica* than a careful examination of the state of the wicket at Fenners. In brutal contrast to these purists there was Leslie Stephen's "Rowing Man" in *Sketches by a Don:*

> He resided at the University for, say 800 days, excluding Sundays and vacations. Of those he passed 790 on the river; and during nine of the remainder he was laid up by a sprain caused by his exertions. The remaining day, which he wasted in lionising his mother and sisters, he will regret as long as he lives Years afterwards he will date events by the University races of that time. The Crimean War, he will say, broke out in the year of 'the eighteen-inch race'–i.e. the race when Oxford beat Cambridge at Henley by that distance...Every morning, he was up at seven o'clock, and took his tub after half an hour's trot. His breakfast, according to a superstition no yet extinct, was raw beefsteak; his supper was oatmeal porridge. He measured his wine (except on occasional jollifications) with the careful eye of a goaler distributing an allowance. He did not smoke, for fear of injuring his wind. The only ornaments in his room were cups or 'pewters' won on the river. His dress always included the colours of his boatclub. His library consisted chiefly of the 'Boating Almanac' and the back numbers of 'Bell's Life'. His conversation varied only be referring at one season to the sculls, and at another to the 'fours'.[26]

There were those in fact as well as in fiction who managed to live in both worlds. Robert Elsmere, the well-adjusted Oxford undergraduate in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's book of the same title whose "athletic instincts...were always fighting in him with his literary instincts,"[27] had his Cambridge counterpart in reality. On entering Trinity College in 1870, Walter Leaf, found to his surprise that although he was never a fine oarsman he was "at least a fair average." And so it was that he found himself admitted "into two quite different college sets: the rowing men and the reading men." His heart was mostly with the latter.[28] Others, like F.W. Lawrence who went up to Trinity in 1891, also seemed to balance brains and brawn without undue strain and combined high intellectual achievement with moderate athletic success.[29] They were the exceptions. Reading men and rowing men in fact co-existed uneasily. The hearties tended to be irreligious and over-bearing, while the intellectuals tended to be holy or affected. Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe described Corpus Christi in 1880's as the Angel and Devil College "for it was divided into two opposite sets...the pious and the rowdy."[30] Things changed little even after the Great War, and T.C. Worsley wrote of the Cambridge of 1926: "The division between athletes and aesthetes was...absolute. There was a clear choice and I surrendered abjectly. I could pride myself after two years at University that I had never opened a book, apart from the set books for the Classical Tripos, and even these were shamefully neglected...I virtually abandoned lectures altogether and did such work as couldn't be absolutely avoided."[31]

Arnold Lunn wrote in his autobiography *Come What May* that there were colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge which perpetuated "the public school athletocracies." He considered himself exceedingly fortunate to enter Balliol College in 1907 at a time when it "shared something in common with Periclean Athens."[32] Cambridge, too, had its Athenian shrines of high culture among Barbarian locii of toned muscle. King's College, to the great delight of E.M. Forster, "was civilised and proud of its civilisation. It was not sufficient glory to be a Blue there, nor an additional glory to get drunk."[33] To Esme Wingfield Stratford, King's was "the intellectual College *par excellence*," an institution devoted to "education, religion, learning and research." And it was no respecter of persons. It would be discreetly conveyed "to the most magnificent of undergraduate bloods or the doughtiest of athletes" that failure to conform to the standards of the college meant removal to one where those kinds of talents were better appreciated. King's had little time for "the type of youth who comes up from a public school with no other object than to squander three or four years in the pursuit of athletic honours and a good time...with just the minimum of study required to scrape through the examination for a pass degree. What, in fact, books about University life love to describe as the average undergraduate."[34] Yet, even in this rarified atmosphere of intellectual endeavour the crude excesses of the hearty were not unknown, and the contemptuous ridicule of the intellectual by the muscular was not uncommon. Intellectuals were known disparagingly as "knaves," and the commonplace antagonism between reader and rowdy found ready expression: "There was a mutual opposition between a comparatively conventional and athletic majority and a minority of self-conscious intellectuals, with a tendency on each side to run defiantly to extremes."[35] Shane Leslie's clear recollection of King's men circa 1904 was that they were "very hearty in groups;" there was careful discouragement of effeminacy. It was during this time that a third year man was actually discovered using a hot water bottle: "This was considered a disgrace to the college, and Hope-Jones challenged its owner to run the quarter mile round the front court on a wintry dawn. It was agreed that the challenger should run stark while the challenged wore as much clothing as he wished. The race was won by the less encumbered party and the offending hot-water bottle was duly confiscated and sent to Doctor Barnardo with the compliments of the Provost, the Fellow and Scholars of the college."[36] Of course, in dons like August Austin Leigh[37] and Walter Headlam[38] King's could boast the staunchest of philathletes. Leigh was "renowned for his great sympathy for athletic sports of every sort." Headlam for his part, by virtue of athletic enthusiasm earned an obituary in *The Sporting Life*.

The antithesis of King's was Jesus, an alleged haven of hearties and a reputed repository of muscular addiction. Few things depict better the similarity between the Victorian and Edwardian public school and Jesus than the College magazine of the period, *The Chanticlere*. In the main it is hearty, philistine, considerably taken up with athletics and preoccupied with the associated issues which so greatly concerned the English public school boy of the period—athletic heroes, successes and regalia[39] In 1889 the editors of *The Chanticlere*, with a certain perspicacity and some irony, amused themselves by speculating on the eventual fate of the volume which they had produced: "We can picture the joy of some learned professor of English on finding this priceless treasure, a relic of the remote past. Aided by this work he will prove that the Universities of the ancient English were really devoted to athletic pursuits."[40]

Whatever the learned professor's conclusions regarding the universities, he would not have been too awry in coming to such conclusions about Jesus. As the magazine reveals, the undergraduates gave much thought, effort and time to athletics. The first number devoted eighteen of the twenty-eight pages to boating, cricket, rugby, soccer, athletics and lawn tennis. In the second number, the news that yet another attempt was to be made to resuscitate the College Debating Society provoked the clearly rhetorical question, "is the slander true that we care for nothing and excel in nothing but athletics?"[41] A little later *The Sporting Times* attracted attention when it was disclosed that it "is generally torn in two one hour after it has arrived, so eagerly do men dispute the proud privilege of reading that high class paper."[42] In contrast *The Nineteenth Century, Saturday Review* and *Spectator* lay untouched between their boards! In October of 1886 the lament of a discontented intellectual with a taste for epigrams was published for general delectation: "once a small college of tasteful students, now a large body of rowing athletes."[43] The statement was a little harsh. The editors for the Easter Term of 1887 were correct: "the old order changes, giving place to new. We are no longer Head of the River and we have a College Debating Society." There was also a society to discuss political, social and economic matters—the Cranmer Society (established as early as 1897), and within two years there was a literary and philosophical society--the Coleridge Society.[44] These cultural endeavours gave the editors confidence a little later to remark of a Jesus Fellow of the early part of the century, that "in a sterner age when athletics were then unknown as a serious pursuit," he was a typical Jesus man possessed of "the spirit of athleticism tempered with learning, which has since been characteristic of so many distinguished members of our College."[45] Content contradicted compliment. While the Debating Society found difficulty attracting support, a college meeting held to debate the desirability of a blazer for members of the Jesus College Athletic Club "was a large one and many men spoke." The motion was carried by a substantial majority.[46]

In the light of such things, it seems reasonable to suppose that the typical Jesus undergraduate of the late-nineteenth century would have had much in common with B.H. Stewart who matriculated in 1893 and graduated in 1896. Stewart opened his short book of *Reminiscences*[47] with the categorical statement: "to anyone who should pick up this little booklet...I feel under an obligation to state that it is concerned mainly with sport--touching lightly on cricket, football, running, swimming, rowing, gymnastics, golf, tennis and boxing with chess, billiards and cards thrown in"[48] He added unnecessarily "all my life sport has been and still is a passion with me."[49] He measured his degree of contentment at the University exclusively in terms of his athletic accomplishments and activities. He underwent the obligatory period of "compulsory rowing" as a freshmen, became an enthusiastic but indifferent cricketer, won a worthy "blue" at soccer and became an efficient President of the Jesus College Athletic Club. He took full advantage of the opportunities available "in the most sporting College in Cambridge"[50] and ended his brief and breezy memoirs with a sententious homily for the young reader, on games as a training for life which set three years of hedonism in proper moral perspective:

> And if you're beaten--well, what of that?
> Come up with a smiling face.
> 'Tis no disgrace to be knocked down flat,
> But to lie there, that's disgrace.
> The harder you're knocked, the higher you bounce,
> Be proud of the blackened eye
> It isn't the fact that you're licked that counts,
> But *how* did you fight--and why?[51]

Stewart's typicality is underlined by the contrasting nature and experiences of Mark Sykes[52] who resided at Jesus at about the same time. Skyes was serious "and held firmly to high principles." It is hardly surprising, therefore, to discover from his biographer Shane Leslie, that he had little in common with his own College. "Jesus was a medieval foundation which in the course of modern progress had passed from the housing of religious women to the production of...highly trained oarsmen."[53] Furthermore, Sykes had no liking for the river: "He was one of those of whom it might be said that they neither toiled nor did they spin up and down the green and scented courses of the Cam."[54] He devoted himself to his Eastern travels, theatricals and journalism and inevitably gravitated away from Jesus toward King's, the undisputed centre of intellectual affairs. To King's men he was a curious acquisition. "Jesus men," remarked Leslie, "were seldom called into King's circles unless to improve the style of a racing crew."[55] However, he quickly won the respect of, and was at ease with an Olympian academic of the stature of Montague James. He was not missed at Jesus. The college Grandees were the athletes. For the most part they defined reality, set the tone, determined the values, coerced the unwilling and disciplined the recalcitrant. In the light of these comments it is attractively straightforward to argue that the those of Victorian and Edwardian Jesus was essentially the product of hearty public schoolboys with hearty period enthusiasms, who danced to their own tunes despite the feeble piping of despairing dons. It is hardly so simple. Such an argument explains much but not all. The recorded enthusiasm of the dons requires the closest scrutiny.

Throughout the later period of Victoria's reign Jesus was in the charge of two former (and unrelated) assistant masters of Lancing College, H.A. Morgan and E.H. Morgan, who during their time at the school strongly encouraged the rise of athleticism with its attendant machinery of colours and compulsion.[56] They were typical athletic pedagogues of the period[57] and their school experience was to be valuable to them as College Fellows. Both were able, enthusiastic and committed athletes but only moderate academics. Their propensities greatly influenced the ethos of the college and transformed its standing. This was just as well. By the 1850s the college had fallen on hard times. In 1849 George John Elwes Corrie had been elected Master. It is customary to portray him as an "Evangelical High Churchman equally opposed to Dissent and Popery"[58] with pronounced conservative inclinations in political, social and educational matters. His qualities are summarised on his memorial tablet in the College Chapel: "*Votis, Studiis, moribus Christo devotissimun.*" They do not seem to have had much appeal. Corrie's early years as Master witnessed a "disastrous drop" in admission which continued until shortly before the appointment of H.A. Morgan as Tutor in 1864.

An immediate rise in numbers is attributed in part to the interests and efforts of Morgan. The cause of its continuation was obvious to the College historian, Arthur Gray who wrote in 1902: "It was in the decade of the seventies that the College sprang into...athletic prominence. It was not unnaturally, accompanied by a great rise in the number of undergraduates."[59] It was, in fact, in 1875 that Morgan's efforts came to fruition and the Jesus College boat "attained the proud position of Head of the River."[60] The College moved quickly from sixth to third largest after Trinity and St. John's.[61] Growth, of course, was due in part to a general expansion of the university after the Act of Parliament in 1871 by which religious tests for all degrees except Divinity were abolished,[62] but the fame of Jesus oarsmen was the main reason. Jesus retained the Head of the River for eleven years. The College now enjoyed an athletic pre-eminence which, in the words of Gray writing with period enthusiasm at the turn of the century, comprised "its greatest glory in modern times."[63] Towards the end of the seventies as a result, the "inflow of freshmen because phenomenal."[64] Additions to the college structure made in 1870 had to be extended, with further extensive additions in the eighties. As in the case of some modern American universities, there were tangible returns to be gained from sporting prowess. This is underlined by the fact that the same phenomenon of expansion occurred in 1904 when the legendary Steve Fairbairn[65] returned to coach the Jesus boats. He was informed by the then Tutor F.J. Foakes-Jackson that "the position of the College boat on the river was an index of the prosperity of the college."[66] As College successes on the river mounted, Foakes-Jackson informed him that he was refusing two men a day as there was no room for them. At least one motive for condoning athletic excess was pecuniary.

Yet college prosperity through athletic success could not be guaranteed. Despite continued victories on the river, by the time the new buildings were completed in the 1880s number had fallen by one third from 206 in 1880 to 147 in 1884. Athletic dominance brought both popularity and unpopularity. Regardless of the enthusiasms of the time, the concentration on rowing was overdone. It was the opinion of the latest historian of the college: "There can be little doubt that the decline in numbers was due to over–emphasis on rowing at Jesus during Corrie's later years, coupled with the rowdiness and idleness of many of the rowing men."[67] In view of what was acceptable, the license must have been considerable. To the modern eye some recorded behaviour seems almost ochlocratic. It comes as no surprise to learn that the ringleaders came from the first and the pre-eminent of the social clubs the Rhadegund Society for the leading athletes, established in 1874.[68]

The two Morgans in conjunction with Corrie ushered in "high and palmy days" in which " 'the Master,' 'the Tutor' and 'the Dean' formed a great triumvirat in the history of their own or any other College."[69] Their accord on matters of educational principle was, in fact, closer than would seem to be the case from a reading of both histories of the college published in 1902 and 1962 respectively. In both the impression given of Corrie is of a crusty, anchoritic "student of many of the bye-paths of theological research."[70] It is suggested that Corrie loathed rowing men, harbouring a resentment towards them not unlike Swartwout's "Aesthete" in his *Rhymes of the river* who beseeched his bosom companion:

Pray, Cyril, do not read the *Field*,
    Nor seek for any detailed knowledge
Concerning those great louts who wield

An oar for 'Varsity or College';
I don't see why my breast should swell
With pride of those whose only function
Is to defeat the men who dwell
On t'other side of Bletchley Junction.[71]

Yet, H.A. Morgan acknowledged the influence of Corrie in the process of transforming Jesus into a college of the river and the games field. Corrie, wrote Morgan, approved "vigorous, manly recreations" and frequently watched his boys playing cricket and football. He also supported the athletes. Percy M. Thorton in a little-known description of the origins of Jesus athletics in the early sixties, wrote that the late venerable and beloved Master of Jesus, Dr. Corrie, supported the athletics, frequently coming to see the sports on Jesus Close."[72] In fact, Corrie saw the same ethical qualities in sport as thousands of his contemporaries. He might have had mysogynic objections to the camp followers, who, he alleged, followed the boats along the banks of the Cam, but he saw moral worth in the efforts of the oarsmen. He was judicious in his praise and opportunistic with his advice. He remarked on the occasion of the College becoming Head of the River in 1875 that a position had been won in "which could not have done without courage and self-denial and he trusted that they would carry their qualities into after life."[73] Later the same day, out of chance meeting with a group of excited undergraduates he created the opportunity for a further brief homily: "I am very glad that you have done so well on the river, I hope you do as well with your books as you have done with your oars."[74]

There are many similarities between the rise of the games cult in the public schools and the universities, not least in the support received from those in authority. This legitimatized encouraged and sustained it. At Jesus, Corrie helped lay the foundations but the two Morgans were pillars of institutional support who ensured the eventual image of Jesus as a college for athletic toughs. Both acquired awesome but rather different reputations. At the time of his death in 1912 H.A. Morgan was described in *Blackwood's Magazine* as "a don of the old school—a sportsman and a gentleman."[75] Charles Whibley, the composer of these literary obsequies for this pronounced philathlete, announced that the College in which Morgan had resided for over half a century, was peculiarly his own creation:

> He filled it with undergraduates, and then endowed it with a soul—a soul of energy and patriotism. He gave to one and all a just cause of pride in their College, and warmed their courage at the fire of his own enthusiasm. In all sports...he took the keen and intimate interest of one who had practised them...For half a century he encouraged the College boat by

> his voice and presence; he watched its rise and fall upon the river with the stern enthusiasm of a general watching his army in the field, and his enthusiasm was rewarded by so long a list of victories as has never been claimed by any other College in the world.[76]

The Jesuan "General" it seems chose his "army"with care. His students were selected in his own image. Charles Hose, for example, on seeking entrance to the College in1882 was closely interrogated by Morgan about his athletic record.[77]

Rowing was Morgan's great love seemingly for moral as well as sensual reasons: "athletics were too much for self-glorification, another pot for this or that, and so on, till (a man) has a row of silver pots or cups. Boating was the ideal, no pots or personal rewards, all for the honour of the College and the University."[78] Morgan's own rowing feats were impressive. He rowed in the Jesus College boat for ten years and coached the college boats for many years after that, becoming a well-known figure riding on his white horse Gehazi along the tow-path shouting instructions to "the boat with the red and black oars."[79] He held the record for the number of eight-oared races on the Cam, more than one hundred. His daughter, in an untypically boastful attempt to place this considerable feat in proper perspective, wrote "in endeavouring to surpass this record another oarsman rowed sixty-eight races and died."[80]

Throughout the whole of his life Morgan remained an enthusiast for the river. Even in the most extreme circumstances his support for the Jesus boat was assured. Apparently at death's door with fever in 1875 when Jesus went Head of the River for the first time, the whole College stood silently under his window. It slowly opened and "a stick on which was suspended his straw hat with the Jesus ribbon was waved slowly up and down." Perceptive students, we are told, dated his recovery from that moment.[81] In his passion for the boats he was as prone to rationalisation as any other zealot pursuing his own interests. It was remarked of him by Canon John Domett Nairne, a student during this period as Tutor, that he encouraged men to take up rowing, because it interfered less than anything else with their work."[82] He clearly chose to disbelieve that well-known university axiom of the time: "He who runs may read but he who rows simply cannot."[83]

Morgan's interest in sport was not restricted to the river. It is not widely recognised that it was not just Leslie Stephen, long reputed to be the creator of the intervarsity athletics sports, but a number of Jesus fellows, including H.A. Morgan, who won over the hostile universtiy authorities to the idea of "fresh inter-University competitions of a non-intellectual nature." They made it possible for Percy M. Thornton, an undergraduate from Jesus, and C.B. Lawes, an undergraduate from Trinity, to visit Oxford University early in 1864 to arrange for the first inter-University athletic meeting. This took place later in the same year on Christ Church cricket ground.[84] It seems, however, that Morgan kept some sense of perspective. In the Jesus archives there are a set of untidy scribbled notes for his annual speech to Freshmen. While he warned them to avoid debt, drink and doing nothing, he also warned them against being pressed into too many clubs and making their sports the business of life. Work was the real thing they had come for.[85] How far this introductory set of admonitions represented simply lip-service to official orthodoxy is impossible to ascertain. What is ascertainable is that in these obsecrations and in his own style of life Morgan first as Tutor and later as Master appears more like a glorified public school headmaster than a distinguished university scholar. The transformation in late-nineteenth century Cambridge discerned by Heyck,[86] from intellectual torpor to intellectual originality did not appear to include the Master of Jesus. He held the intermediate position of earnest decent don, cast more in the mould of John Hardy than Charles Appleton.[87] In this regard he was ideally suited to Jesuan undergraduate's proclivities.

Edward Henry Morgan, was a more controversial figure than his namesake. He aroused strong passions. He was described by one Jesus undergraduate who took a very pronounced dislike to him, as "an enormous man, over six feet in height, with a stomach and feet to match, a closely trimmed red beard, and a voice like a bull–one of Nature's bullies."[88] Elsewhere he was compared in aspect to those massive warriors "who from their northern homes sallied out to harry and destroy their feebler men."[89] He was an ardent devotee of sport. *Granta* reported in May 1890:

> He fostered esprit de corps in every pursuit; he encouraged the genuine athlete;...Such a man at the head of affairs soon affected a change in the College that had grown somewhat sluggish, and the consequence is that at the present day Jesus men have increased in numbers to such an extent as to require new College buildings and...[are] to be found in the front rank of every branch of athletics.[90]

Others were less convinced of his merit, seeing his rise to prominence as a malign ascendency and believing that he played the role of Coryphaeus with enthusiasm. Brittain and Gray in their history of Jesus remark: "There can be little doubt that the decline in numbers was due to an over-emphasis on rowing at Jesus during Corrie's later years coupled with the rowdiness and idleness of many of the rowing men and the acquiescence of the Dean, E.H. Morgan."[91] Morgan's propensity to turn a blind eye when it suited him, is revealed in Stewart's *Reminiscences*. He recalled that S.M.J. Woods, a double blue in his first year and "too priceless to lose" always got his way with Morgan.[92]

Brittain returned to the theme of Morgan's disastrous influence in his autobiography *It's a Don's Life*, attributing both the restless reformation and reckless iconoclasm of Arthur Gray, Master from 1912 to 1940, to the need "to administer an antidote to...(and) smash the idol of Red Morganism."[93] The antipathy Morgan could attract to himself is sharply revealed in a long-lived reaction and a tasteless anecdote repectively, both described by Brittain. He wrote of Arthur Gray: "To the end of his life he could always be roused to wrath by any mention of the repugnant name. Anyone who did not know might have thought that Red Morgan's enormities had been perpetrated a few weeks previously, whereas he had been dead for forty years."[94] Brittain recounted of Morgan that on the death of a colleague at Lancing, he swiftly organised a subscription for the widow, ensured a substantial sum was donated and then promptly married the lady.[95]

It is clear that Morgan was a man to be feared rather than loved. He found few lions in his path and those he quickly tamed. Master and Fellows apparently were all terrified of him.[96] One of them, however, summoned up enough courage to compose the following disrespectful verse which gives a fair idea of Morgan's autocratic majesty!

Red Morgan. I am the tutor, bursar, butler, dean:
I rule the College with imperial sway.
The very Master owneth me supreme,
The Fellows tremble and my rule obey.

Chorus. The Czar of Russia and our gracious Queen
Are not so potent as our noble Dean.[97]

H.A. Morgan's daughter in her book about her father, recounted with delicate malice, several of his stories about "the noble Dean," none of them to his advantage. She wrote euphemistically of E.H. Morgan that he possessed "a vigorous and resolute personality combined with a masterful will."[98] She shared her father's antipathy towards him.

Despite the systematic removal of Morgan memorabilia under Gray, there remain clues in the Jesus archives to the extent of Morgan's absorption in sport. He was a philathlete of extreme persuasion. His Jesus scrapbook, for example, is filled with telegrams dispatched to him from various scenes of Jesus sporting success, Lords, Henley and elsewhere, reporting famous victories on the Thames or informing him of the doings of men in the University cricket match. For the rest, it includes records of work done for the University cricket, boating and athletic clubs and meetings of the famous Isthmian, Queen's or Leander sports clubs of which he was a proud member.[99] Perhaps the clearest indication of excessive zeal and disproportionate involvement is an entry entitled"Muscular Education" in *Punch*, the merciless recorder of the extravagances of the English gentleman. In it he appears under the opaque pseudonym of R.E.D. Horgan of Jesurum College, Cambs., as a referee for an exciting new preparatory school where boys are trained "to the real requirements of modern life [rowing, cricket, football, swimming, racquets, boxing, hockey, billiards, poker, nurr and spell]" in preparation for the great public schools and universities. Extras at this utilitarian establishment (for which there was an additional charge—included reading, writing and arithmetic.[100] Morgan made practical contributions to the development of the sporting ethic in late nineteenth century Cambridge. He was for many years treasurer of the leading university athletic clubs. In addition, he played a major role in organising the subscription fund for the purchase of Fenner's Cricket Ground in March, 1892, when it became available from the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College.[101] He performed similar functions for Jesus athletics, auditing the annual facilities. In this regard, whatever personal failings he may have had, "the Dean," as he was usual styled, was considered by many of the time to be "an admirable type of...muscular Christian."[102] Morgan's personality and predilections ensured his dominance of Jesus for much of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There can be little doubt that his values prevailed in the College and in effect, if H.A. Morgan was a glorified headmaster with a taste for sport, E.H. Morgan was a glorified games-master with an obsession for it. He had much in common with the archtype of the species, "the Bull" of Sherborne, drawn so effectively by Alex Waugh in his famous *Loom of Youth*.[103] In contrast to the other Morgan, his motives appear to have been more hedonistic than moralistic. Certainly no record of moral arguments for sport have survived.

The Morgans, like Warre at Eton and Welldon at Harrow and many other headmasters, embodied a new morality and epitomised a new pedagogic ideal. They were fervent and energetic agents of ideological innovation. Like Gramsci's intellectuals, their role was to spread and legitimatize new convictions, to colonise fresh conceptual territories, and win over young minds. Their motives were mixed; their commitment was considerable. And they were not alone. For a full understanding of events and to do justice to the complexity of reality, the attitudes and inclinations of the Morgans must be placed in the wider context of late-nineteenth century university change. The discussion will follow Rothblatt rather than Heyck. The focus, appropriately in this context, will be more on the model of the late-nineteenth century don as moral tutor rather than specialist-researcher.[104]

As in the public schools donnish enthusiasm for sport was in part the product of a curious amalgam of self-interest and altruism. As Rothblatt has argued, traditional donnishness constituted either amiable indifference or cold remoteness.[105] This polarity nad lost favour by the 1850s. Irritated by the dominance of the coaching system, the dons now imitated the "beaks," but Thring rather than Arnold. The collegiate ideal was redefined to lay emphasis on personal influence and character formation.[106] This ensured legitimacy, promoted self-respect and improved professional image. Of course, this is not the whole story. Some casuistic dons, like some "beaks," were little more than perpetual public schoolboys. Others were calculating realists to whome institutional athletic repute meant institutional prosperity. Others were common-sense pragmatists who followed the expedient practices of mid-century public school headmasters. They promoted the river and the playing fields as necessary mechanisms of control. As undergraduates increased in number as a consequence of the growing wealth of Victorian Britain, the associated expansion of the public school system and the consequent university reforms of the mid and late-nineteenth century, the Colleges faced a classic public school problem: sizeable numbers of students in the grip of boredom born of restriction. They did not always resolve it, although utilising traditional procedures they went to considerable lengths. College lectures, college examinations, compulsory chapel and dinners in hall all had a disciplinary purpose and "a variety of punishments—admonitions, rustication, expulsion, prohibitions and literary impositions—were customarily meted out for violations."[107] Heitland wrote of the period after 1860, "to bring young men together and keep them out of mischief (a vastly important matter), was a function not always performed by College Tutors with success."[108] The successful, however, like Henry Latham of Trinity Hall (and we can add H.A. Morgan), "unrivalled in the power of controlling full-blooded undergraduates, made it their business to encourage all forms of bodily exercise, above all rowing."[109] This is a factor of a concern with control and less of a concern for character. Pragmatism as much as idealism dictated policy and practice.

If there was an element of Bethamite utilitarianism at large, there was also an element of Homeric idealism. The alleged ideal of Thomas Arnold's Rugby, Greek and cricket,[110] was more accurately the ideal of Walter Headlam's Cambridge. Headlam, the most passionate of Hellenists, was "in spirit and temperament nearly a Greek." The "oarsmen's strife and vigorous life" of Cambridge pleased him most. "If I had not been a Grecian," he is reported to have said, "I should have been a cricket pro."[111] Consequently, "on a sunny day in the summer or early autumn he would devote all books to the father of lies, and become a Greek in Disraeli's sense of one who excels in all athletic spots, never reads, and speaks no language but his own."[112] Headlam and others were seduced by the Athenian concept of "the whole man." Sport and scholarship were worthy and linked pursuits which gave rise to a nineteenth-century Graeco-Britannic ideal. Some certainly pursued it in fact and more perhaps pursued it in fiction. The sanguine, like Richard Livingstone, could be confident that an ancient Athenian would be at ease among "the well developed in body and mind" at Oxford and Cambridge; the sceptical, like Matthew Arnold, were of the view that such an Athenian would have speedily recognized that he was in the presence of Barbarians.[113]

There was, of course, a further idealism associated with Oxford and Cambridge sport which was more Spartan in concept: corporate, self-denying and stoic. It is hinted at amusingly by W.B. Glover:

'Yet every day it is just the same
Though my nose be red and fingers blue,
I visit the river and sink my name
And become one-eighth of eight-oared crew.[114]

And described with assertive righteousness by R.C. Lehmann in this depiction of the college and university oarsman:

> He will have suffered much, he will have rowed many weary miles, have learnt the misery of aching limbs and blistered hands,...he will have laboured under broiling suns, or with snow storms and bitter winds beating against him, he will have voluntarily cut himself off from many pleasant indulgences. But on the other hand his triumphs will have been sweet, he will have trained himself to submit to discipline, to accept discomfort cheerfully, to keep a brave face in adverse circumstances; he will have learnt the necessity of unselfishness and patriotism...[115]

Here is the essence of Victorian and Edwardian upper class educational purpose: character training through athletic endeavour. It was no less valid at the university than it was in the public school. "Boating was pre-eminently a means of university education...a high moral lesson," wrote a contributor to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1887, quoting with relish as his source no less an authority than an Anglican bishop.[116] He added his own view that "one of the highest objectives of a university career should be the formation of character," and expressed disgust at the youth without this objective who remained indoors "addling his brains in the investigation of obscure historical and philological problems." On a note pleasing to Lacedaemonians, he ended with a hymn of praise to the nature of young Englishment at the universities who took such a pride in resisting fatigue, who rejoiced at the display at its highest pitch of bodily strength and who were intoxicated by swift, effortless movement. It was this muscular morality above all else which the British product of public school and ancient university took to every corner of the empire. It served school teachers, missionaries and colonial administrators well in their efforts to train the child at home in Britain and the child-like native in the colonies.

And it was this moral element which transformed the seemingly parochial indulgences of Jesuan undergraduates into a set of ethical actions with broader political, social and educational purpose. A mere handful of Jesus men must suffice to illustrate what was typical of many more, and to demonstrate how deeply the games-ethic became embedded in professional action. James Robertson, headmaster of Haileybury from 1884-90, was typical of numerous schoolmaster exemplars.[117] At Haileybury he made substantial contributions to the school fabric, intellectual life and athletic organization. In conjunction with so many of the Victorian sporting pedagogues, he showed himself to be possessed of a persistent youthfulness, a firm commitment to athletics as a moral instrument and a determination to ensure they had a central role in educational theory and practice. For these reasons the editors of the official valete in the *Haileyburian* of 1890 wrote with satisfaction: "Our progress under six years of wise and liberal government has been immense...all the older games [are] better organised and more vigorously pursued than before."[118]

While Robertson trained embryonic imperial administrators on the Haileybury playing fields, one Jesuan imperialist, Charles Hose, was making excellent use of his college experience as government resident in Sarawak, Borneo. In the 1880s he found himself in charge of the Baram district. "Raiding and head-hunting were rife, and constant local feuds prevailed. Interference by an intrusive government was not welcomed and was opposed with vigour."[119] Hose was patient. After ten years, having played himself in as government representative, he felt the time was ripe to call a conference of the tribes. The purpose of the meeting was to bring *Pax Britannica* to Baram. The undertaking was not without its difficulties. Athletic competition for savages unfamiliar with the obligation of losing well, had its dangers. Victory on this auspicious occasion presented a considerable problem, since the winners were a pacific coastal people who were more skillful at making boats than war. Design not aggression had brought triumph. Fortunately, good humour prevailed. On the following morning the various parties dispersed to their distant villages, taking with them the news "of the great boat race...how they swore peace and goodwill to all men, and how there now should be peace and prosperity through all the land."[120] Imperial policy and Jesuan practice had combined to good purpose.

The efforts of Robertson and Hose are dwarfed by those of Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe who from 1890 to 1947, with extraordinary strength of purpose, honest Christian zeal and incredible personal stamina, took the athletic activities of English public school and ancient university to the Hindu Brahmins of Kashmir. He epitomized Kingleyan virtues, seeking to strengthen sinew and develop muscle on the river and the playing field in the interests of knight-errantry.[121]

These three men were both actual and symbolic pieces in a mosaic of moral purpose and practice. They represented a clear-cut attitude to individual, social and political behaviour which, in their simple but certain view, games in part both determined and reflected. In their approach to games, they epitomized a motive which encapsulated a great deal more than personal pleasure, private recreation, disciplinary expedience and egocentric aggrandizement. They were part of an ethical endeavour disseminated from the Colleges of both Oxford and Cambridge to places as varied as the squalid slums of London's East End, the spacious acres of Harrow "footer" fields, the hot and humid hillsides of Ceylon, the high savannah of the South African veld, the tropical rain forests of Equatorial Africa, and the elegant Chieftains' Colleges scattered throughout the Indian sub-continent.

Jesus contributed enthusiastically to this ethical effort. It was at the centre of a concentric world. Close to the centre stood the English grammar schools, while at the circumference itself stood Australian, African, Indian and other imperial emulators. The College provided the wider society with moral exemplars, ideologues and diffusionists who, in a catenulate effort at propagation, preached and practised athleticism in Cambridge, Britain and Empire.

In the light of the evidence available it is reasonable to conclude that during the Victorian and Edwardian epochs, Jesus subscribed to the athleticism ideology as completely as Harrow, Lancing, Loretto, Malborough and Uppingham. As in those school, indulgence, rationalisation, expedience and idealism were the confused, contradictory or complimentary characteristics of the enthusiastic. Similarly the causes of this enthusiasm were complex. Glorified schoolmasters in the vanguard of fashion, the prevalence of public schoolboys, the College "blood" as hero, concern with control, restricted leisure, ethical imperatives all determined action, that the broadening role of the liberal education of late nineteenth century Oxbridge had a physical as much as a cultural connotation. One dramatic consequence was the fact that Jesus played its full part in a movement, the encouragement and diffusion of organized athletic activities,[122] which transformed exercise into ethical endeavour, influenced the educational practices of empire and commonwealth and inspired the future recreational habits of the world. The contribution of other Oxbridge Colleges to this world-wide social revolution and their significance in this regard has still to be appreciated, investigated and evaluated.[123] Furthermore the political, social, educational and psychological aspects of this phenomenon have yet to receive the attention they deserve.

NOTES

1. Hedley Peek, "Sport Literature and Its Critics," *Fortnightly Review*, 62, (November 1897): 797.

2. J.A. Mangan. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: 1981), passim. Victorian public school headmasters promoted an enthusiasm for games for a variety of purposes: to bring unruly pupils under control, to ensure the right social image for their school, to advance a philosophy of "sound living" and to provide distractions from "unhealthy and unholy" thoughts.

3. It was dual matrix involving the public schools and the ancient universities.

4. Francis Duckworth, *From a Pedagogue's Sketch Book* (London: Duckworth, 1912), p. 42.

5. Esme Wingfield-Stratford, *Before The Lamps Went Out*, (London: Hodder & Stougton. 1945), p. 144.

6. See W. Baker, "Sport and University Life in England 1870-1914," unpublished paper presented at the Clemson University Conference, "Sport and Society," April, 1982.

7. See Mangan, *Athleticism*, Chap. 5, for a discussion of this point.

8. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 100 (October, 1866): 448.

9. *Contemporary Review*, 13, (March, 1866): 337.

10. T.H. Huxley, "Universities: Actual and Ideal," *Contemporary Review*, (March, 1874): 665.

11. Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 123.

12. *Punch*, 27, 1901, p.165, quoted in Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 189.

13. Pattison's actual words, of course, were that the "colleges were boarding schools in which the elements of the learned languages are taught to youths" and are to be found in his famous *Suggestions on Academical Organisation with especial reference to Oxford* (1858). I suggest the paraphrase is more appropriate. For a benevolent consideration of Pattison's lugubrious personality, see John Sparrow, *Mark Pattison and the Ideal of a University*, (Cambridge, 1967).

14. John Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe* (London: Millington, 1977), pp. 110-11.

15. Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 124.

16. A.C. Deane, *Times Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1931), p. 53.

17. E.F. Benson, King's College, Cambridge, 1887-1892. For an earlier and non-fictional description of the simple, physical pleasures of Cambridge students see C.A. Bristed, *Five Years in an English University* (New York: Putnam, 1852), pp. 397-98

18. Charles Tennyson, *Cambridge from Within* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1913), p. 166.

19. G.P. Gooch, "Victorian Memories IV: Cambridge in the Nineties," *Contemporary Review*, 189, (January, 1956): 27.

20. F.J. Foakes Jackson, "School and University in England, A Personal Retrspect," *Columbia University Quarterly*, 23 (4 December 1931): 381. (Frederick John Foakes Jackson (1855-1942), undergraduate at Trinity 1876-79, chaplain and lecturer at Jesus College 1882, Dean 1895-1906, afterwards Briggs Graduate Professor of Christian Institutions in the Union Theological Seminary, New York).

21. Rowland Prothero, *From Whippingham to Westminster* (London: John Murray, 1938), p. 45.

22. W.E. Heitland, *After Many Years* (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), pp. 115ff.

23. A. Vebert Douglas, *The Life of Albert Stanley Eddington* (London: Nelson, 1956), p. 7.

24. Heitland, *After Many Years*, p. 115.

25. Leonard Woolf, *Sowing* (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), p. 159.

26. Leslie Stephen, *Sketches from Cambridge by a Don* (Cambridge: MacMillan, 1855), quoted in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 100, (October 1866): p. 455.

27. Mrs. Humphrey Ward, *Robert Elsmore*, (Nelson edn.) 53.

28. Walter Leaf, *Some Chapters of Autobiography with a Memoir by Charlotte M. Leaf* (London: John Murrary, 1909), pp. 70-71.

29. F.W. Pethwick Lawrence, *Fate Has Been Kind* (London: Hutchinson, 1941), pp. 30ff.

30. C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Tyndale Biscoe of Kashmir* (London: Seeley Service, 1951), p. 43.

31. T.C. Worsley, *Flannelled Fool* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967), p. 41

32. Arnold Lunn, *Come What May (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1940), passim.*

33. Noel Annon, "King's College Annual Report," 1961, p. 64, quoted in Wikinson, *A Century of King's*, p. 76.

34. Wingfield-Stratford, *Before the Lamps Went Out*, p. 142. However even in the rarified intellectual atmosphere of King's the crude excesses of the hearty and the contemptuous ridicule of the intellectual by the muscular was not unknown. See also p. 171.

35. Leslie, *Long Shadows* (London: John Murray, 1966), pp. 108-9.

36. Leslie, *Film of Memory* (London: Michael Joseph, 1938), p. 254.

37. See W.H. Leigh, *Augustus Austin Leigh* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906), passim.

38. *Walter Headlam. His Letters and Poems with a Memoir by Cecil Headlam and a Bibliography by L. Howard.* (London: Duckworth, 1910). Leigh is celebrated in *Granta*, 22 April, 1893, pp. 273-74. Headlam won an obituary in *The Sporting Times*, 31 October 1908, p. 4.

39. For a consideration of public shool magazines see Mangan, *Athleticism*, Appendix 3b.

40. *Chanticlere*, 5 (1889): 3-4. the first number of *Chanticlere* in 1885 placed priorities in the right order not merely by devoting much of its space to sport, but also by linking the Master firmly to this enthusiasm. See No.1, October pp. 14-15.

41. *Chanticlere*, 2 (1886): 3ff.

42. *Chanticlere*, 2 (1886): 8-9.

43. *Chanticlere*, 2 (1886): 8.

44. *Egg*, 1 (1961): 11.

45. Chanticlere, 3 (1887): 25-26.

46. *Chanticlere*, 5 (1889): 11-12.

47. B.H. Stewart, *Reminiscences*, n.p., 1945. Some idea of the enthusiasm for sport at Jesus and the extent of the college's impact on Cambridge sport generally may be gained from this statement in the 1890s: "An account of modern athletics which omits the revival of interest therein, rampant between 1863-4 at Jesus College, Cambridge is quite as imperfect as a book would be, which professed to describe the Oxford religious movement of 57 years ago, yet made no mention of Oriel College." *Chanticlere*, 7 (1891): 23.

48. Stewart, *Reminiscenses*, Introduction.

49. Ibid., p. 1.

50. Ibid., p. 47.

51. Ibid., p. 69.

52. Shane Leslie, *Mark Sykes: His Life and Letters* (London: Cassell, 1923), p. 52-53. Sykes (1884-1919) came from a wealthy northern aristocratic lineage. He became a distinguished expert on the Near East and held various influential government posts including Chief Adviser on Near Eastern Policy (1916-1918) until his early death.

53. Leslie, *Mark Sykes*, p. 43-4.

54. Ibid., p. 44.

55. Ibid., p. 53.

56. H.A. Morgan, (1830-1912) undergraduate at Jesus in 1849, Tutor in 1864, Master in 1885. E.H. Morgan (1838-1896), undergraduate at Jesus in 1858, Fellow in 1864, tutor in 1882, Senior Tutor in 1885, Dean in 1886. See *Lancing Register*, 3rd ed. 1848-1932, for details of their careers as schoolmasters.

57. For further exemplars, see Mangan, *Athleticism*, Chap. 5.

58. Arthur Gray, *A History of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London: Robinson, 1902), p. 23.

59. Ibid., p. 224.

60. Ibid., p. 227.

61. Ibid.

62. In addition, they were abolished for all university and college offices and for all Fellowships except those confined to clerics. By the University Statutes of 1882 which resulted from the 1887 Royal Comission investigation into the universities , all religious tests were abolished, no Fellows were required to be in Orders except the Dean, and all Fellows were free to marry.

63. Gray, *Jesus College*, p. 229.

64. A. Gray and F. Brittain, *A History of Jesus College* (London: Heineman, 1960), p. 166. At the time Corrie became Master in 1849, there were 56 undergraduates and Jesus was eleventh in size among seventeen Cambridge colleges. By 1869 numbers had increased to 100 and the College was sixth is size.

65. No less than five Fairbairn brothers rowed for Jesus. They were Australians, and the College boasted at least three more of their countrymen: their cousins George, Charles and Harry Armytage. It was the heyday of Australian oarsmen at Jesus. Steve Fairbairn in a letter to Iris Osborne Morgan in the mid-twenties remarked that her father H.A. Morgan, was very willing to recruit such Australians provided they were gentlemen and would behave themselves (Letter dated 13 February 1935, Iris Osborne Morgan Scrapbook, Jesus College Archives, pp. 37-8).

Steve (1862-1938), the most successful of the Fairbairns, was an extraordinary Jesuan symbol of philathletic enthusiasm and allegiance. He rowed in the Cambridge crews of 1882, 1883, 1886 and 1887. After his College days he spent a lengthy period in Australia, but in 1904 he returned to England and virtually devoted himself full-time to coaching rowing. He became a famous and controversial coach. For some thirty years he coached the Jesus boats, wrote extensively ont he art of rowing and popularized the sport all over the world through his correspondence and his books. The title of his autobiography provides some indication of his affection for his Cambridge college. (*Fairbairn of Jesus*, London 1937.) On his own request, his ashes were buried in the Master's Garden.

66. *Fairbairn of Jesus*, p. 71.

67. Gray and Brittain, *A History of Jesus College*, p. 17.

68. The records of the society for the period up to the Great War are lost, but those for the period 1917 to 1960 are extant and provide clear and vivid evidence of the "bloods' arrogance, power and "physical exuberance."

69. Gray and Brittain, *A History of Jesus College*, p. 48.

70. Gray, *Jesus College*, p. 228.

71. R.E. Swartwout, *Rhymes of the River and Other Verses* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1927), p. 39.

72. *Chanticlere*, 7 (1891): p. 17.

73. Chanticlere, 7 (1891): p. 23.

74. Iris C. Osborne Morgan, *Memoirs of Arthur Henry Morgan* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927), p. 146.

75. P.M. Thorton, *Some Things We Have Remembered*, (London, 1912).

76. *Blackwood's Magazine*, 192, October, 1912, pp. 576-77.

77. Charles Hose, *Fifty Years of Romance and Research* (London: Longmans, 1912).

78. *Chanticlere*, 5 (1889), p. 9.

79. F. Brittain and H.B. Playford, *A History of Jesus Boat Club* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1962), p. 10.

80. Osborne Morgan, *Memoirs*, p. 210.

81. Ibid., p. 289.

82. Ibid., p. 212.

83. Perhaps this explains in part the paucity of his own intellectual efforts at least as demonstrated by publication. Middle age did not bring with it a cessation of rowing effort. For years Morgan was a member of the "Ancient Mariners," a group of Cambridge dons who steadfastly refused to abandon the river and who formed teams which competed with the undergraduates in the annual rowing competitions. For a nostalgic description of "The Ancient Mariners," see T.F.C. Huddleston, "The Ancient Mariners," *Cambridge Review* (18 January 1912): 190.

84. P.M. Thornton, "The Athletic Revival," *Chanticlere*, 17 (1891): 20-24. P.M. Thornton (1841-1918) was at Jesus between 1860-65. He was an enthusiastic sportsman. He was the first Secretary of the Inter-University Sports. In later life he inspired the famous boat-race in Ghent in 1911 between a Jesus crew and a Belgian crew which Jesus won. For many years he was honorary secretary of Middlesex C.C.C. C.B. Lawes (1843-1911), Jesus 1862-66, athletics blue 1964, rowing blue 1865. He became a sculptor.

85. "Miscellaneous Notes and Accounts of Tutors 1863-1878." Co. 64, Catalogue Books, Muniment room, Jesus College Archives.

86. T.W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London: Croam Helm, 1982), p. 171.

87. Heyck, *Transformation of Intellectual Life*, p. 30.

88. Stewart, *Reminiscences*, p. 30.

89. *Granta*, 17 May 1890, p. 334.

90. Ibid., p. 334.

91. Gray and Brittain, *History of Jesus College*, p. 171.

92. Stewart, *Reminiscences*, p. 42.

93. Brittain, *Don's Life*, p. 184.

94. Ibid., p. 184.

95. Ibid., p. 184. Curiously, Venn records that Morgan remained a bachelor all his life.

96. While they obeyed him, they despised him intensely. Evidence for this assertion is to be found in Brittain and Gray, *A History of Jesus College*, passim; F. Brittain, *It's a Don's Life*, passim but especially p. 184; in *Vanity Fair* (January 19, 1889), p. 49, and in Osborne's *Memoirs*. Arthur Gray fulminated against him until his death and provided the reason for his loathing in a letter dated November 1924. "Only after his death I discovered the dishonesty of the man and his general incapacity which he concealed under a swagger. He left the College hundreds of pounds in debt and providentially for him his accounts were so muddled that nobody could say who had consumed the wine and cigars which he had bought and had somehow vanished. Almost everything he did in College building was wretchedly bad..." (Scrapbook of Iris C. Osborne Morgan.) Jesus College Archives, p. 126.

97. Gray and Brittain, *History of Jesus College*, p. 185.

98. Osborne Morgan, *Memoirs*, p. 242.

99. *Scrapbook of E.H. Morgan*, Jesus College Archives.

100. *Punch*, July 29, 1893, p. 37.

101. *Granta*, 17 May 1890, p. 334.

102. *Chanticlere*, 12 (1896): 2.

103. See Alec Waugh, *The Loom of Youth* (London: Grant Richards, 1917), p. 27, for the famous description of A.C. Carey, the fabled Sherborne games master. While Morga was undoubtedly addicted to physicl activities, this addiction may be placed in some sort of perspective by reference to his judicious and conscientious comments on school academic standards of the time in *The Standard*, 19 November 1886, which revealed that the man was more than a mere philathlete.

104. Heyck, *Transformation of Intellectual Life*, pp. 171, 185.

105. For a brilliant exegesis of the Cambridge don of the period, see Sheldon Rothblatt, *The Revolution of the dons*, (Cambridge: Faber & Faber, 1968), chap. 6. In his subsequent study of British liberal education, *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History as Culture* (London: Faber & Faber 1976) Professor Rothblatt widens his focus and with elegance and sublety and discusses the image of the Victorian don at both Oxford and Cambridge. See especially Chap. 11, "Vicious Poisons Lie Hidden under Sweet Honey."

106. Rothblatt, *Revolution of the Dons*, p. 210.

107. Ibid., p. 246.

108. Heitland, *After Many Years*, p. 143.

109. Ibid., p. 143

110. Richard Jenkyns, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), p. 216.

111. Quoted in Walter Headlam, *The Sporting Times*, 21 October 1908, p. 4. For a splendid example of Headlam's "Grecian" passion for bodily exercise, see his Ode to Health in the *Cambridge Review* (February 17, 1886): 220.

112. Jenkyns, *Victorians and Ancient Greece*, p. 221.

113. T.R. Glover, *Cambridge Retrospect* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 130.

114. R.C. Lehmann, "Rowing at Cambridge," *English Illustrated Magazine* (April, 1889): 153.

115. Frederick I. Pitman, "Well Rowed Cambridge", *Fortnightly Review*, 42 (1887): 217, 222.

116. There were many more schoolmasters who exerted a similar influence. Among the most influential were J.E. Mellor, (Jesus 1903-1906), J.H. Bruce-Lockhart (Jesus 1908-1911), H.B. Playford (Jesus 1919-1921), C.A.F. Fiddian-Green (Jesus 1920-1923) and J.T. Badham (Jesus 1919-1921).

117. *Haileyburian*, 7 (9 April 1890): 466. See also *Harrovian*, 14 November 19093, pp. 109-11 for an enthusiastic appreciation of his work at Haileybury.

118. Hose, *Natural Man*, p.152.

119. Ibid., p. 155. For a full description of this famous event, which was recounted throughout Cambridge, "A Savage Conference," W. McD., *The Eagle*, 21, 1876, pp. 70-82. This was the magazine of St. John's College.

120. C.E. Tyndale-Biscoe, *Kashmir in Light and Shade* (London: Seeley Service, 1922), p. 269.

121. This will be discussed in the author's forthcoming book, The Games—Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal.

122. This subject is currently being researched by the author.

"What If the Power Does Lie Within Me?" Women Students at the University Of Wisconsin, 1875-1900

Amy Hague

HISTORIAN PATRICIA GRAHAM BELIEVES the most underrepresented group in recent studies of women's higher education to be "middle class girls who attended coeducational institutions."[1] This study attempts to redress the balance in favor of these "middle class girls" by looking at the experiences as students of those who graduated from the University of Wisconsin between 1875 and 1900. How were they affected by coeducation?

Just what did Jennie Field, University of Wisconsin class of 1874, mean when she wrote that conditions at the University during Paul Chadbourne's tenure as president kept the "feminine mind . . . in a constant state of irritation" and were "favorable for the development of 'strong-minded' women!"[2] Finding answers to questions such as this requires an examination of personal papers and reminiscenses, sources that have been largely ignored in studies of the history of women's education.

These sources at Wisconsin reveal the ways in which one coeducational institution changed over time and how students responded to those changes. After 1874, when the university administration decided to make its commitment to coeducation official, practice did not necessarily follow theory. Segregation, and the attitudes which had created it, continued to influence the college experience of women.

In this essay I will show that college life gradually became more integrated after 1875, but discriminatory attitudes and practices continued and were in some respects exacerbated by the increased mingling of the sexes. Second, I will focus on the positive and negative effects of segregation on women. On the one hand, segregation was beneficial in that it allowed women to adjust to and take advantage of new opportunities without the competition of their more experienced and aggressive male classmates. On the other hand, differential treatment served to reinforce the potent influence on these young women of families and communities which held up the Victorian ideal of woman as nurturer of home and family.

Third, I wish to make it clear that in spite of segregation and the double standard it fostered, the effect of a formal commitment to coeducation at the University on the educational experience of women was far from negligible. Women were offered many of the same opportunities for intellectual growth as their male classmates, an advantage shared with a very small percentage of the female population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While they were not allowed to forget that they were different from their brothers and that their respective educations were thus geared to different futures, they were at the same time consistently reminded that, like their brothers, they were expected to be leaders. College women were encouraged to use their educations for the good of the community. Ultimately, it was this message the majority of these women found to be the most compelling of the contradictory directives they received.[3]

The arrival of President John Bascom in 1874 was a boon for women's education at Wisconsin. In his text *Sociology*, the rights of women were a central element in Bascom's social theory. He went so far as to call for the end of chivalry, which he believed prevented women from testing their strength and simply concealed contempt for them.[4] During a controversy over segregation at the University in 1908, Bascom expressed his belief that there could be no compromises or "half way measures" when it came to coeducation. He believed that the primary purpose of instruction was to convey adequate knowledge and that adapting methods to "different classes" of students defeated that purpose.[5]

Helen Olin, an 1876 graduate, who also had strong views on the subject of coeducation, summed up Bascom's influence on her college experience and that of other women:

> Among the graduates of the university are nearly two hundred women who have been under the direct instruction of Dr. Bascom. In the classroom, in college meetings, in the social life of the university and his own home, these young women of Wisconsin received their measure of the stimulus and inspiration that many great men of the nation gratefully acknowledge as the strongest influence of their lives.[6]

Bascom's positive encouragement affirmed the efforts of women students attempting to establish a foothold in the realm of higher education.

Over the decades following Bascom's arrival, as women became a familiar part of college life, they gradually gained access to courses, facilities and extracurricular organizations that had been the exclusive domain of male students. Social life became more integrated as opportunities for formal interaction between men and women increased. Yet, a tradition of segregation had been firmly established prior to 1874 and discrepancies in the treatment of and attitudes toward men and women remained.

The first classes to graduate while Bascom was president had experienced conditions similar to their pioneering predecessors. They were thus more conscious of the inequities faced by women students than were their later counterparts who faced a more subtle discrimination. The graduating class of 1875 had thirty-four members, eight of whom were women.[7] They had begun their studies in 1871, the same year as the "experiment in coeducation" was begun.

The women, still classified as members of the separate Female College, were no longer barred from the regular courses, but they continued to recite in their own classrooms. The Regents of the University stated that

> this course will commend itself to the friends of education, for while it complies fully with the organic law of the University, in extending equal privileges to male and female students, it is yet a conservative course, midway between those who would ride a hobby to personal popularity and that of fogyism which yields nothing to the demands of a growing public opinion.[8]

The Regents' halfway solution most certainly did not commend itself to the students, who were apparently unified, male and female, in their opposition. In the words of class historian Juliet Meyer:

> This was a happy arrangement — a truly golden mean, for the believers in coeducation thought they had it while to the skeptical an explanation from the President showed that no such thing existed in the University. Everybody was satisfied but the class of '75. We thought it a humbug then and we think so now.[9]

The class proceeded to elect officers, including a female vice president, write a constitution, and hold meetings, until the faculty, "fearful lest the government of the institution might be overthrown, assisted very likely by the fact that their faith in coeducation was at its ebb tide decreed that these things ought not to be . . ." In the face of opposition, the students continued to hold class meetings in two separate bodies, one for men and one for women.[10]

Eighteen women graduated with the class of 1876, which was even more active in opposition to the "happy arrangement." When class members, like their predecessors, attempted to organize as a parliamentary body in 1872, "executive fiat forbade the lady members of the class to participate in its proposed deliberations."[11] The class appointed a committee to intercede with President John Twombly, Bascom's predecessor. The committee was unsuccessful, and one freshman "sought a vent for his grief and ire in the columns of the *University Press*."[12] When Twombly demanded a retraction, the freshman refused. The class held a meeting to endorse his stand, and the sophomores followed suit. The anonymous author of the class history recounted the continuing stand off:

> The President seeing the lowering clouds . . . averted the rising storm by the retraction of his despotic mandate. Then began a series of petitions to the faculty praying for the abolition of all sexual distinctions with reference to class meetings. The Freshmen were as prayerful as the Authorities were obdurate and no Faculty meeting passed without a presentation and rejection of a Freshmen petition for the relief of the oppressed sex.[13]

Their activity was to no avail, and '76 was also forced to organize in two divisions which met separately and exchanged minutes. Although "an essential joining of these two branches was an object constantly in view," the arrangement continued in the face of the students' objections "until a broader and wiser policy of coeducation was inaugurated."[14]

The class of 1877 operated under the same conditions for only one term. Then, Bascom arrived and allowed the classes to organize as one body. The class history devoted little attention to the coeducation issue, despite a move to revive the Female College by the Board of Visitors which had resurrected the familiar argument that women's intellectual capabilities were limited by their biology. A faculty committee, appointed to look into the matter, dismissed the Board's report, stating that in their experience women had performed equally as well as men in the classroom and that unnecessary expense and duplication would result from a separation.[15] By 1880, the coeducation controversy seemed remote to the students; and, according to the class history, great heat was generated by an extended argument over the language of the class motto.[16]

Florence Bascom, daughter of John Bascom, and other women who attended the University in the 1880's did not have to prove themselves worthy of an education equal to that of their male classmates. The coeducation controversy had been resolved for a decade, and Bascom was satisfied that women received their due. She mentioned one professor who carried out coeducation "with almost startling consistency, typified by the seating of his students alphabetically without distinction of sex."[17] However, the "startling" nature of one professor's seating policy suggests that such equal treatment of women was not as consistent a policy as Bascom implied.

Even as opportunities for extracurricular activities expanded, an informal segregation remained in force. Rachel Jastrow, the wife of psychology professor Joseph Jastrow, invited his class to their home in 1891. She wrote of the occasion to a member of her family:

> You can't imagine how grateful some of the students were to me! One young man confessed that he had been here over two years, and had never in all that time known a woman well enough to exchange a word with her. Another one had been here four years with a similar experience, and this in a coeducational institution![18]

By the 1890's, the unity of the institution often spoken of by students who attended the University in the preceding decades was fast disappearing. Every year the classes grew larger, the elective system was expanding and a heterogenous research institution was beginning to take shape. The class of 1895 had 121 members compared to 1875's thirty-four. Women comprised almost one half of that class, whereas only one quarter of the members of '75 had been women.[19] According to historian Merle Curti, the increased numbers of women evoked little interest.[20] An alumna of the class of 1895, describing a talk given to the Wisconsin Alumnae Association of Chicago in 1913 for example, expressed surprise at the strong opposition to coeducation in the University's formative years. She herself remembered that "times were more favorable to women when we were there."[21]

Together with these changes came a shift in campus life from the serious to the social, reflected in an expanded number of extracurricular organizations and a greater integration of men and women within these organizations. The literary societies lost ground to the fraternities and sororities, or "secret societies," which offered social benefits without requiring intellectual effort, and men's athletics inspired the enthusiasm formerly devoted to joint debates,[22] even though many students were as serious about their studies as the earlier generation. As the secret societies began to dominate university social affairs, students came under fire for the cost and exclusiveness of some of their social functions and for their general tendency toward frivolity. Events such as a raid by the boys on the Ladies Hall laundry room in 1898 underscored the general trend.[23]

Letters of Alice and Bettina Jackson, sisters who graduated at the turn-of-the-century, show a lack of concern with matters academic, in marked contrast to the seriousness of their predecessors. Their letters contain few references to course work, but reveal a great interest in Greek society activities and other social aspects of college life. Bettina wrote to Alice in 1900: "Is Elsie going on the 'Hill' this semester? I suppose the 'girls' are getting ready to put her through if she is . . . I am just on pins and porcupine needles about Flora. Are the Kappas rushing her very hard?"[24]

This emphasis on the social at the expense of the academic, together with a trend away from segregation in student organizations and informal activities, not only created an atmosphere in which students placed more importance upon interaction between men and women but increased their concern with the rituals surrounding it.[25] The college humor of the annuals, published by the junior class after 1885, began to revolve more and more around socializing between the sexes. A hypothetical letter from "Bess" to "Nan" captures the tone of their material:

> Friday night he took me to the theatre — went in a carriage, of course, and had a box with one of the other Psi Deltas. Think of it! The next morning the maid brought up a box of the loveliest roses — from Bob, of course, — and that night he and Ted Hardy — you remember he is the one I had such a crush on last spring . . . gave a dinner party . . . would have had an elegant time if Bessie Masson hadn't thought she was making a terrible impression on *my* man . . . [26]

Times had changed since the day when there was "surely some plain living and perhaps there was high thinking" and "one best gown [had to] do duty for all public functions."[27]

The increased writing in the annuals that treat women as romantic objects rather than sentient beings revealed a change in attitudes toward educated women. "Phyllis' Flunk" from 1898 is a case in point:

> She flunked today: with downcast eyes
> She took her seat.
> Her flushing brown, her little sighs
> Betrayed defeat.
> Poor Phyllis, Must the next to rise
> Her woe complete?
> I turned in anger from this maid.
> So cruelly right.
> To Phyllis' neatly coiffured braid.
> That's all my sight
> Can feast on and my thoughts have strayed
> Back to last night.
> She, too, perhaps of that last dance
> Is thinking yet —
> Those whispered words, that long, last glance —
> Does she regret?
> I never shall, but she, perchance,

Will soon forget.
Ah, that's the thought that gives me pause
And yet I say,
Go on, you student, give the laws
Of thought, but pray
Why love I Phyllis more because
She flunked today?[28]

The message of "Phyllis' Flunk" was stated explicitly by the author of "The Co-ed" in the 1896 *Badger*: "To college, to college, to be a co-ed,/ Home again, home again, soon to be wed."[29]

Dramatic changes had occurred at the University as it expanded and in student attitudes as sex integration proceeded during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Alumni were fond of describing the amazement of a student from the pioneer days who, in the alumni fantasies, arrived on the impressive campus with its hoards of students at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century. The pioneering women students might have recognized some similarities in the experience of their "modern" counterparts. While women were no longer separated from the men like pariahs, they were given continual notice that they were different from them. They no longer had to fight so hard for access to the same advantages as men, but they had to stand firm for their right to be intellectual beings in the face of prescriptions which would have denied that right.

Many women in late nineteenth century America experienced conflict over the dual messages they received about the roles they were expected to fill in their families and communities, and women at Wisconsin were no exception. On the one hand, segregation within coeducation allowed them to explore their capabilities and develop the skills and confidence they needed to pursue the ideal of community service. On the other hand, discrepancies in the treatment of men and women, such as the absence of women from teaching positions and the discriminatory attitudes they encountered, undermined their confidence and encouraged them to accept a narrow definition of what they could do with their lives.

There is no better example for illustrating the positive influence of separate organizations on women than the literary society. Student intellectual life reached its highest level in the literary societies, and in many western institutions they were the most vital part of college life. In an era when most male, and some female, students felt they would eventually serve in a post of civic responsibility, a mastery of parliamentary procedure, public speaking and debate was of the utmost importance.[30] This was certainly the case at Wisconsin: ". . . in those days [the 1870's] the honors of the University were conceded to the men who were foremost in scholarship or oratory. Every young man of promise joined either the Athenean or Hesperian society, and everyone was expected to be something of an orator. . . [31]

The literary societies played a special role for women. They helped to alleviate the effects of outsider status by allowing women the same opportunity as the men to develop the oratorical skills so important for participation in public activities. Referring to the Bascom era, Jane Field Bashford recalled that:

> The essay was considered the only form of public speech quite proper for ladies. Orations were rarely attempted. Orations were, however, inaugurated among the girls at this time, first in a secret society, called the Egeiean, which was formed for the purpose and flourished until its members had acquired a little experience when it was discontinued, and instead, debates were introduced as a common feature of the long established Castalian and of the new Laurean.[32]

In 1864 at a time when there were no rhetorical exercises in regular courses for the women, the Castalian Society was founded, a consequence of the interest of Anna W. Moody, Assistant Principal of the Normal Department. Moody believed "that women should be able to fill their places in the world . . . "and saw the literary society as an aid to that end. The Society met each Friday evening for music, essays, reviews and recitations.[33] She was elected president because, as a member of the class of 1915 explained,"the girls of those days had not had the opportunities of conducting meetings which we have, and were doubtless rendered more timid than ever by the cold reception they had received from their brothers in learning."[34]

Sabra Warner Smith, a student who had been bold enough to accept the first vice presidency of Castalia, remembered the "anxiety and nervousness" with which the new society's first public meeting was announced: "The faculty and students had been cordially invited to attend this meeting. They were all there, and also many of the citizens of Madison, curious to see what the girls could do . . . "[35] "The girls" did fine, and Castalia prospered after its auspicious beginning, growing its first year from forty-one to seventy-six members. Castalia's constitution expressed its purpose as "the improvement and discipline of the mental faculties."[36] The Castalians dealt with topics current and philosophical, from essays on "The Ethics of Dress" to orations on "The Problem of Foreign Immigration."[37]

Castalia occasionally sent guests to meetings of the men's societies, or received the men as visitors. They also sent representatives to the yearly Junior Exhibition and brought home their share of the honors.[38] However, the women were excluded from the major event of each year, the Joint

Debate, for which two of the men's societies spent many hours in preparation.

In spite of this exclusion, the women of Castalia gradually gained confidence. Jennie Covert recalled a challenge by Castalia to President Chadbourne, who she described as "old-fashioned and unprogressive . . . as far as woman's half of the world was concerned." The society had determined to hold their anniversary exercises "downtown;" and, as spokeswoman for the committee appointed to confront Chadbourne, she presented their plan:

> 'We might do as we pleased; but, as for him, he wished us to know that he was unalterably opposed to the whole thing.'. . . Nevertheless we 'crossed the Rubicon,' and the crowded condition of the old Congregational Church on anniversary night and the encomiums in the daily papers of the next day were the testimony to the success of our bold exploit.[39]

Castalia remained a vital force in college life throughout the last quarter of the century. In 1891 she became "a proud and happy god-mother to a new society named in her honor at Wesleyan University."[40]

In 1873, some members of Castalia and a group of women not members of any literary society formed Laurea. Florence Bascom remembered the two societies as drawing their membership from two "rather different groups of women," and that there was a rivalry between the two that shaped social relations. "The plays, the debates, and the character parties of one's literary society were the occasion of the most intense emotions of one's University life."[41] There is some indication, from Laurea's 1887 constitution, that the new Laureans may have favored more emphasis on debate, bringing them closer in line with the men's societies, whose activities revolved around the Joint Debate.[42] A poetic history of Laurea revealed the pride of its members in their reputation for "brains":

As long ago as '73
A score of girls began to be
    True loyal Laureans
The facts above you surely know
For every Annual's told you so

And since that time how many a girl
With flashing eyes has learned to hurl,
    "I am a Laurean"
At those who laugh at "fair co-eds,"
And say "Boys not books do fill their heads . . ."[43]

A mocking piece in the 1885 annual revealed an interesting male response to the Laureans:

> Eight Stagyrite peripatetics innocently wandered this evening to the spacious realms of Ladies Hall, 'where foot of man hath never trod,' expecting to partake of the crumbs which might drop from the *intellectual* table of your Society . . . We found the protecting spirits present, demanding: '*What do you want here, gentlemen!*" While thanking ye ladies for ye 'warm' reception . . . the 'nonplussed' eight trust you will construe this call, as it was, an unconscious intrusion. However, it giveth the heart joy to know that male habilements are worn by you on stat occasions.

An accompanying drawing shows two women in their room, one decked out in trousers and vest, inquiring "How do I look?"[44] A cartoon in a later annual, labeled "Laurea — open session," shows two women in typical 1890's dress, one with a cigar and both with handle-bar mustaches.[45]

On the occasion of Castalia's jubilee celebration in 1915, alumnae described the importance of their literary society during their college years. For Caroline Hobart Lewis, '76, Castalia filled the void created by official ambivalence toward women on campus: "Castalia in the '70's was our mental gymnasium. We did not have specialists in oratory at our command. We depended on sister Castalians or some instructor who was willing to tax a bit more her already over-taxed time to hear us rehearse a recitation . . . " Other former members placed emphasis on the importance of the societies in fostering familiarity with extemporaneous speaking and parliamentary rules, and "a great co-operative spirit which teaches one to work successfully with others and . . . radiates power and influence."[46]

Some of the commentators credited the society for their successes in later life, particularly in public service. Lois Kimball Mathews, Dean of Women at UW in 1915, stressed this aspect of the societies:

> Today, when social service is the magic word for organizations, these little literary societies are less attractive to the average student than they were . . . Yet the value of these organizations is great . . . [They provide] real apprenticeship in writing and speaking. Women are coming more and more to be drawn upon for all sorts of public work — on boards, on committees, in organizations — and they must defend their old views, construct new ones, and add their viewpoint to the sum total of discussion . . . "[47]

Whether the alumnae of the literary societies went on to raise families or whether they had careers, virtually all of them participated in clubs and associations at one time or another. Their college experiences helped to prepare many of them to exercise leadership in whatever sphere of activity.

The literary societies offered intellectual community, but they also, along with the sororities, provided a social community for college women. The bonds of friendship formed in the literary societies were a prominent feature of the Castalia Jublilee reminiscences. Lois Kimball Mathews pointed out that "there is no ground for enduring friendship more fruitful than that of congenial intellectual tastes."[48] By virtue of the fact that college women were oddities in this era, it was important for them to form ties with other women on the fringes who saw life from the same angle. The literary society provided a vehicle for affirming and strengthening those ties.

In terms of the literary societies, segregation worked in the favor of women. In response to their exclusion from the university community at large, they had created their own community. With each other they could foster a sense of confidence. At the same time isolation from the mainstream acted to undermine college women's belief in their own abilities. One barometer of the differential between male and female student experiences is the availability of extracurricular activities. A survey of student organizations listed in the annuals form 1885 to 1901 reveals a gradual expansion in the number of both single sex and mixed organizations, but throughout these years the opportunities available to men remained greater. In 1885, there were four women's organizations to the men's twenty-two as well as six that were open to both.[49] By 1900, the proportion had changed little. There were eleven student organizations exclusively for women, thirty-eight for men, and twelve with mixed membership.[50]

The implications of these discrepancies did not escape the women students. Florence Bascom described the short shrift women received in the athletic realm. There was no physical education or organized athletics for women other than the opportunity to use the men's gym for a few hours each week. As a result, women "suffered from lack of regular exercise unless they indulged individually." Bascom was provoked to complain that "when the collegiate training of women was first on trial, there were clamorous complaints that the health of young women was being wrecked: now the same class of public critics are loudly complaining that college women are 'Amazons'."[51] Byron Robinson, '78, shared Bascom's view that women should have access to equal athletic facilities, because he believed that segregation "distorts views of sex and life and . . . marks inequality between sexes and stigmatizes women with the elements of inferiority."[52]

The impact of the overwhelmingly male faculty characteristic of coeducational institutions was also significant. One woman described her initial reception in the classroom of the "masterful scholar and teacher," S. H. Carpenter, who taught from 1868 to 1878:

> . . . Professor Carpenter evidently thought he had something decidedly fresh before him, — an incipient "new woman". . . Almost his first question . . . was "Do you believe in woman's rights?" Having been a reader of the New York *Independent* since I was fourteen . . . I had somehow imbibed the notion that taxation without representation was quite as unfair for women as for men. So I was a truthful Jane . . . and meekly answered "Yes, sir." He afterwards gave me reason to be sorry that I had not been more reticent in avowing my sentiments . . . which were so diverse from his own. As he told us later when we were studying aesthetics, he thought woman should be essentially a thing of beauty, like the lilies, "who toil not, neither do they spin." When cornered by the question, "who would do the work?" since no home will take care of itself, he replied inconsequentially, "Oh, hire a girl!"[53]

Jane Bashford recalled that in 1871 "the professor of geology looked askance--or not at all for a time--upon the feminine contingent of fourteen that now invaded his domain, and other professors were known to entertain fears that this new element might prove a hindrance to the masculine element..."[54]

In the nineties, Elizabeth Comstock somewhat enigmatically described her relationship with one of her professors:

> Dr. Miller is very lovely in thesis work *sometimes* and sometimes *extremely lovely* in the opposite sense. But I have found out just about how to take him. So I think I'll get along allright; anyway I hope so. I keep my "eyes peeled" when he is around and "my ears too."[55]

Elizabeth Comstock was more given to relating facts than impressions in her correspondence, and her lack of explicitness makes it impossible to draw a definite conclusion; but it is difficult not to infer that Dr Miller had something other than an academic relationship in mind—another hazard of entering a male defined domain.

A number of women had positive recollections of their male professors. Belle Case La Follette, an 1876 graduate, felt she was fortunate to have studied under several professors, in particular her favorite teacher, William F. Allen. From his lectures on the growth of institutions, she wrote, "I got my first glimpse of the relation of history to life—that it was something more than a chronological record of wars and dates.'"[56] Many women appeared to overlook treatment that was not quite even-handed for the sake of the excitement of learning from good teachers.

Even so, La Follette's comparison of the relationship she and her classmate, Robert F. La Follette, had with President Bascom conveys a sense of difference in their respective interactions. She described Bascom's profound influence through daily contact with the seniors in classes covering "the whole range of philosophy, and this meant the range of students' serious thinking..." She continued:

> Progressive in spirit, uncompromising with what he believed to be wrong, Dr. Bascom urged us to think and reason for ourselves and to translate our convictions into action. Especially did he emphasize the obligations of citizenship. Again and again he would tell us what we owed the state and impress upon us our duty to serve the State in return. Here as in other phases of our university course, my understanding of what President Bascom was trying to implant seems to have been rather vague and general; while to Bob it was concrete truth, the living gospel, whose application was plain as a pikestaff.[57]

Women were not accustomed to being told to translate their convictions into action, much less to serve the state. The professors tailored their lectures to future public servants. Women were just beginning to define roles for themselves that entailed public service, and these roles were defined in different terms than they were for men. The unfamiliar language of men speaking to men would have seemed "vague and general" to the women of Belle La Follette's generation.

Women had entered a male world; the number of women instructors was so miniscule at any given time from 1875 to 1900 that their presence could do little to ease the transition. On the one hand, the female students were witness to the passing of knowledge from man to man that seemed to have little application to their lives as women. On the other hand, as can be seen in the increasing activity of women in the public sphere, they managed to turn exhortations like Bascom's to their own ends.

Concurrently, the physical and intellectual segregation that took place in the coeducational setting and the double standard that went with it reinforced poor self images and prevailing notions of women's potential. It is striking how many of the female students denigrated themselves and their achievements in letters, journals, and other writings. Those whose performance was above average on campus and afterwards were no exception. The individual autobiographies in the class histories and their introductions written by the editors are full of comments like: "My personal appearance is not at all striking;" "Diffidence often prevented her from doing herself justice;" "am said to possess great mental activity but lack application."[58]

Harsh self-assessments continued to be characteristic late in the century after sex integration had softened the jagged edges of segregation. Gertrude Cairns graduated in 1898 with an above average academic record. In 1897, a story she had written was published in *The Aegis*, the student literary magazine, and she was invited to join an "exclusive" literary club. She wrote the following in her diary:

> ...if that Fortnightly Club has invited me to join on the grounds of that story as a promise of ability, I fear they will be sorely disappointed...Why don't people measure me more correctly?...If instructors will persist in asking me the questions I know while they ask my abler neighbor one I could not answer and give him less credit because he cannot either...how am I to blame if people overestimate my abilities?.... had rather be underestimated and realize that I was better than I was thought and keep my own self-esteem...[59]

Most women who lived in this era were not so ruthlessly introspective, but they revealed similar self-doubts. Elizabeth Comstock who overcame whatever self-doubts she had to become a physician, practicing until she was ninety-one, confided her difficulties in vertebrate anatomy to her brother:

> I felt very bad about my standing but really I tried to work very hard on it and put in lots of extra time. Two of the boys left the class. Because they only got fair and it was the first time they had ever got anything below a good in their science work...I do quite a little outside reading...I try to do good work...I guess I ain't good for shucks anyhow.[60]

One can guess at the personal toll taken by the additional effort needed to overcome such lapses in confidence.

Segregation encouraged women to have traditional goals, just as it discouraged them from believing in their own capabilities. Women were not granted the same opportunities as men because they were not expected to aspire as high. Matrimony was the easiest path which friends and associates usually encouraged and expected. A young woman who persisted in aspiring to some other goal or perhaps a combination of the two was confronted at every turn with her prescribed fate. A case in point is a cartoon in the 1889 *Badger*. Panel one shows a "Handsome maiden who goes to college for the purpose of Aquiring Knowledge (Act I, Maid one)." In the following panel, "Fond admirers near her hover, Handsome maiden finds a lover (Act II, Maid won)." At last, in Act III she is "Made one," for "College life is milk and honey, Knowledge tends toward matrimony."[61]

The audacity of college women in this era who sought an education they supposedly did not need left them vulnerable to the charge that they were anomalies. Pressured to prove their critics wrong, they went to great lengths to prove that their education would be useful for "normal" womanly pursuits. The Castalia Jubilee was the occasion for one such paean:

> Castalians are actively engaged in most of the professions...but by far the greater number are now or have been occupying the place of honor in the realm of the home, where no doubt, the knowledge gained in Castalia has helped them to argue convincingly, to plead with earnestness, and to judge justly the little cases that continually come before them: so although they are not lawyers, nor jurors, nor judges, they are able to discharge the duties of all these functionaries in their little home courts better...than they ever could have done had they not been Castalians.[62]

Some college women chose to use their educations in "their little home courts," as they were encouraged to do by the conservative influences in their college lives. Other alumnae chose alternatives which enabled them to participate in activities outside their homes, whether married or not. Paradoxically, these women also derived support for their course of action from the influences of their college years.

A balanced examination of how college life affected these women requires that they be considered in the context of the general population of nineteenth century women. College women were privileged. Their less fortunate sisters either did not consider higher education as an alternative, or they were unable to muster the means and/or the support of their families to follow such a course. Higher education for women in a coeducational college, viewed in this context, takes on more positive connotations than when seen solely in comparison to men's college experience. While there were indeed glaring discrepancies in the advantages offered to men and women at the University of Wisconsin, both sexes were nevertheless exposed to much the same knowledge in their classes. They were also exposed to a set of values which groomed them for leadership, although the emphasis explicitly and implicitly differentiated between them.

A survey of the courses followed by men and women after the demise of the separate Female College reveals that women tended to favor different courses than did the men. The unofficial segregation noted previously occurred in choice of academic study as in other parts of college life. For instance, men had traditionally considered the ancient classical curriculum to be the best preparation for the professions, particularly law, and it is likely that most women found the extra preparation in Latin and Greek too burdensome for a course not tailored to their career goals, usually teaching.[63]

The significance for women of these patterns of study lies in the similarities of their work to that of the men, rather than the differences. Subject emphasis differed, but courses were not yet as specialized as they would later become. At one time or another, all students were exposed to essentially the same subjects. The opportunities for women to choose among the same courses as men did and simply to pursue intellectual endeavors was a remarkable one, given the lack of educational opportunities offered to most nineteenth century women. Jane Bashford conveyed the sense of excitement the women felt when they had finally gained access to the same courses as the men:

> It was a novel experience to have everything offered to us on equal terms with our brothers. Heretofore we had been glad to pick up such crumbs of knowledge as might fall from their table, and we were now perplexed with the very multiplicity of our riches...[64]

Women shared with their male classmates many aspects of an academic culture designed to instill confidence and to promote public activities that would reflect positively on the University. Fruitful intellectual relationships could flourish in what was still a small college where professors maintained close contact with their students. The very S. H. Carpenter, who had advocated hiring "a girl," since women were not meant to work, told Belle Case La Follette that her "talent for writing was worth cultivating." John Olin, the "hard hearted" professor, who made La Follette write and recite perfectly a second oration after she had forgotten part of her first, also told her that she could "achieve a place as a contributor to current literature."[65] Similarly, Elizabeth Comstock found encouragement for her pursuit of medicine when she was having difficulty with some of her courses:

> I had a talk with Dr. Birge the other day. And he told me that I could just as well take my thesis work in Literature as not and better if I expected to teach but he said that if I

> ever had any idea of studying medicine or becoming a trained nurse that I had better take my thesis work in embryology or anatomy. I told him how things were and he said he was sorry for me but he thought the best way to do if I intended to succeed in it was to peg away at it. And so now I am pegging away at my embryology.[66]

Comstock wavered about her commitment to medicine, but encouragement from faculty, along with support from her family, stayed her course.

The academic culture was complemented by the "social gospel" expounded by Bascom during his presidency and continued by his successors. It eventually evolved into the "Wisconsin Idea." Briefly, Bascom's philosophy elaborated on the basic idea that "personal and public morality would serve as the foundation of a religious nation." Bascom's applications of this idea in the realms of political and social reform made an impression on his students. His philosophy came together at the University with the already established concern for practicality and utility which encouraged the belief among students that they owed something to the public which was making their education possible.[67]

Florence Griswold Buckstaff, an 1886 graduate who became a university regent, expressed her version of what Bascom's social gospel meant to women in an address delivered in 1910:

> Increasing strength means increasing freedom, the necessary condition of the highest usefulness...But the freedom which is salutory for the race is not the freedom to do as we please..It is freedom to compete with men in all fields for the sake of the strength and efficiency born [illegible] competition. Such freedom is not license...college women more constantly than any, heed the motto of aristocracy, *noblesse oblige*, and emphasize the spiritual ends to which all physical and mental development are subsidary.[68]

These college women were told that they had abilities and an obligation to exercise those abilities for the good of society. Often, the same women who expressed doubts in their abilities at one moment, were perfectly capable of sounding a note of confidence the next. They were conscious of the special opportunities available to them, and they had plans based on that consciousness. A member of the class of 1875 who became active in the woman's club movement assessed herself decisively: "As to mental activity I think when I understand a thing I can see through it as soon as anybody." Juliet Meyer had a similarly high opinion of herself: "She says she is strong minded and believes woman capable of taking care of herself...no one pretends to dispute it as referring to herself."[69] Even Gertrude Cairns, who was so threatened by her literary success, was prompted to end her comments regarding her unworthiness on a hopeful note: "But what if the power does lie within me? What if I might do something worthy?"[70]

It soon becomes clear when one tries to understand the women who sought an higher education at Wisconsin in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that they had to find some way of coming to terms with a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, they were told to take their diplomas out into the world and do their part to reform it. On the other hand, they were reminded that, college women or not, they must pursue their highest calling as homemakers and nurturers if they were to find the true happiness of womanhood. Some college women chose to follow one or the other of these extremes; others could be found along a continuum of choices in between. Their coeducational experiences at the University simultaneously reinforced the double standard of their society and made them conscious of their potential as purveyors of the "social gospel."

Whatever post-college life brought these University of Wisconsin graduates, their awareness of the alternatives not chosen often posed conflicts for them. Nevertheless, many alumnae left the University in the late nineteenth century with the knowledge that they had choices. They took away with the diplomas a set of expectations of the future which would have seemed foreign to earlier generations of women.

NOTES

1. Patricia Graham, "So Much to Do: Guides for Historical Research on Women in Higher Education," *Teachers College Record* 76 (February 1975).

2. "Histories General and Personal," 1874, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison. (Hereafter cited as "Class History.")

3. Many of the modern historians of women's higher education are particularly concerned with the question of whether the education women received in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reinforced conventional notions of women's roles in society or expanded ideas of what was possible for women, thus opening doors for them

The coeducational experience is especially criticized as a legitimator of traditional gender roles. Representative of this point of view are: Joyce Antler, "The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminist Identity, 1890-1920," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1977); Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977); Jill K. Conway, "Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States," *History of Education Quarterly* 14 (Spring 1974); Roberta

Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticitiy and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1977); Lynn D. Cordon, "Coeducation on Two Campuses: Berkeley and Chicago, 1890-1912;" and Joan G. Zimmerman, "Daughters of Main Street: Culture and the Female Community at Grinnell, 1884-1917," both in Mary Kelley, ed., ***Women's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History***, (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1979).

Other historians, while recognizing how differential treatment of men and women students reinforced subordinate roles for women, also acknowledge the ways in which women circumvented the resulting obstacles by creatively devising individual compromises. These authors emphasize higher education as a progressive force in the lives of women which allowed them to enlarge their spheres of activity. Among these authors are: Patricia Palmieri, "Patterns of Achievement of Single Academic Women at Wellesley College, 1880-1920," ***Frontiers*** 5 (1980); Sheila M. Rothman, ***Woman's Proper Place: A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present*** (New York: Basic Books, 1978); and, Margaret W. Rossiter, ***Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940*** (Baltimore, Md., and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1982).

4. John Bascom, *Sociology* (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1887), discussed in J. David Hoeveler, Jr., "The University and the Social Gospel: The Intellectual Origins of the 'Wisconsin Idea'," ***Wisconsin Magazine of History*** 59 (Summer 1976): 290.

5. John Bascom, "Segregation at Wisconsin," ***Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*** 9 (April 1908): 258-59. (Hereafter cited as WAM.)

6. Helen Remington Olin in "Tributes by Students of John Bascom," ***WAM*** 13 (November 1911): 49.

7. "Class History," 1875: viii.

8. ***Regents Annual Report***, 1871, quoted in Helen Remington Olin, ***The Women of a State University: An Illustration of the Working of Coeducation in the Middle West*** (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), p. 54.

9. "Class History," 1875: xiv.

10. Ibid

11. "Class History," 1876: xv.

12. Ibid.: xvii.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid..

15. Merle Curti, ***The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925***, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 1: 25. The Board of Visitors was established by resolution of the Board of Regents of the University as a visiting and examining committee. The Board issued it first report in 1860. Ibid., 1: 107,209.

16. "Class History," 1877: xvi.

17. Florence Bascom, "The University in 1874-1887," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 8 (March 1925): 303.

18. Alexandra Lee Levin, "The Jastrows in Madison: A Chronicle of University Life 1888-1900," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 46 (Summer 1963): 247-8.

19. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Wisconsin*, 1896-97 (1897), University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison. (Hereafter cited as University Catalogue.)

20. Curti, *The University*, 1: 661

21. Jessie M. Shepherd, "The Alumnae Association of Chicago," *WAM* XIV (April 1913): 361.

22. The organizational membership of a sample of alumnae chosen from three five-year periods reveals the shift in popularity from literary societies to sororities, as does the growth in the number of sororities. Of 35 women selected from the classes 1875-80, data is available for 27. All of them belonged to a literary society and eight belonged to a sorority. Alumnae from the classes of 1885-90 (data is available for 31) were still more likely to belong to a literary society; 26 belonged, while 15 were in sororities. From 1895-1900 the literary societies were in decline; of the 34 women for whom information is available, 12 belonged to a literary society, 15 to a sorority, and five claimed no organizational affiliation. (*Trochos*, 1885, 1888; *The Badger*, 1889-1901, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison.)

23. Curti, *The University*, 1: 665, 667, 674.

24. Bettina Jackson to Alice Jackson, 13 March 1900, Alice and Bettina Jackson Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

25. Membership lists in the 1885 *Trochos* indicate four women's organizations, 22 organizations are all male, and six are integrated. By 1900, there were 12 mixed organizations and activities listed.

26. *The Badger*, 1898: 312.

27. Jennie Muzzy Covert, "At the Dawn of Coeducaiton," *WAM II* (March 1901): 245.

28. *The Badger*, 1898: 312.

29. Ibid., 1896: 272.

30. Curti, *The University*, 1: 423.

31. Burr W. Jones, "An Era of Expansion," *The Badger*, 1898: 272.

32. Jane Field Bashford, "The Time of President Bascom: The Transition Period," *The Badger*, 1898: 226.

33. Sabra Warner Smith, "The Early Activities of Castalia," *WAM* VII (June-July 1906): 423.

34. Mary McNeil, "The Spirit of the Castalia Jubilee," *WAM* XV (January 1914): 139.

35. Smith: 423-4.

36. *Trochos*, 1885: 81.

37. Castalia. Programs, 1873, 1886, University of Wisconson Archives, Madison.

38. "L.S.W." [Lydia Sharp Winterbotham?], "South Hall and Early Coeducation," *WAM* 5 (March 1904): 186. From 1882 to 1889 Castalia and Laurea each won the Junior Exhibition twice, carrying off half the honors. (*The Badger*).

39. Jennie Covert, "The Twombly Regime," *The Badger*, 1898: 274.

40. *The Badger*, 1891: 65.

41. Florence Bascom: 307.

42. Laurea. "Constitution, Bylaws and Rules of Order," 1887, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison.

43. *The Badger*, 1891: 64.

44. *Trochos*, 1885: 142-3.

45. *The Badger*, 1890: 214.

46. Caroline Hobart Lewis, Edna E. Frautschi, and Ida B. Fales in "What Castalia Meant to Me," *WAM* XV (January 1914): 147.

47. Lois Kimball Mathews, "The Value of Literary Societies," *WAM* XV (January 1914): 150.

48. Ibid.

49. Women could choose from four women's organizations: two literary societies and two sororities. There were also two mixed literary societies which proved to be short lived, two student newspapers, the University Christian Association, and the Choral Club. Besides the integrated organizations, men could choose from six literary societies, five "societies for research," four fraternities, the YMCA, Glee Club, the baseball team, Athletic Association, and the annual staff. At this time women comprised approximately one quarter to one-third of the graduating students. (*Trochos* and *The Badger*.)

50. In 1900 women could choose from seven sororities, the literary societies, the YWCA and the women's basketball team. There were nine mixed organizations. Organizations with only men on their rosters included 13 fraternities, 6 literary societies, the student newspaper, two engineering societies, and 3 musical groups. Men had access to 7 sports, 3 academic clubs and 2 special interest clubs. The ratio of men's to women's organizations had changed little since 1885, but the number of women had grown proportionately to the number of men; the female students were a little less than half of those on campus. (*The Badger*)

51. Florence Bascom: 306.

52. Byron Robinson, "Segregation," *WAM* X (November 1908), 68.

53. Covert, "At the Dawn of Coeducation," 244.

54. Bashford, "The Time of President Bascom," 277.

55. Elizabeth Comstock to Adam Comstock, 9 December 1896, Elizabeth Comstock Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. [Spelling and punctuation are Comstocks'.]

56. Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette, *Robert M. La Follette*, 2 vols. (New York: MacMillan, 1953), 1: 37.

57. Ibid.

58. Harriet Bacon in "Class History," 1875: 1; Elizabeth Atwood and Sarah Ames in "Class History," 1876: 1, 9.

59. Cairns Diary, 6 March 1897, Gertrude M. Cairns Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, River Falls Area Research Center.

60. E. Comstock to A. Comstock, 23 March 1896, Comstock Papers.

61. *The Badger*, 1889: 166.

62. Sabra Warner Smith, 425.

63. The Reorganization Act of 1866 had established a college of arts and a college of letters—professional and other colleges were expected to be added in the future. Arts encompassed mathematics, science, applied sciences. Languages, literature and philosophy comprised the college of letters. After they were freed from the constraints of the Female College, most women followed the ancient and modern classical courses and general science. After 1886, when the English course was separated from general science, the latter lost favor, while enrollment in the former increased dramatically. (Curti: 384; *University Catalogue*.)

64. Bashford: 277.

65. La Follette, 1:33.

66. E. Comstock to A. Comstock, 12 July 1896, Comstock Papers.

67. Hoeveler, 282-3. Hoeveler documents the intellectual origins of the Wisconsin Idea, following it from Bascom through later proponents, Richard Ely and John R. Commons. He points out that the "social gospel" as an idea grew out of an earlier reform impulse of evangelical Protestantism, which was an integral part of the mindset of so many midwesterners during this period.

68. Florence Griswold Buckstaff, "Eternal Values in a University," *WAM* XI (May 1910): 332-3.

69. Alice A. Crawford and Juliet Meyer in "Class History," 1875: 33, 121.

70. Cairns Diary, 6 March 1896, Cairns Papers.

Discrimination at Syracuse University

by Harvey Strum

DURING THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, historians have reported a number of studies of the history of discrimination in higher education in the United States. In the early 1970s, Stephen Steinberg wrote both an article and a book about anti-Semitism and the emergence of university restrictions on the admission of Jews after World War I. A few years later, Harold Wechsler detailed the rise of anti-Semitic restrictions on admissions at Columbia University and the University of Chicago. In 1979, Marcia Synnott examined discrimination against Jews, Catholics, and blacks at Princeton, Harvard, and Yale. Most recently, fiction writer Louise Blecher Rose created a controversy with an article on anti-Semitism at Sarah Lawrence.[1] These accounts focused on the history of discriminatory practices at elite colleges. Very little research has been done on discriminatory practices at less prestigious institutions. The study reported here extends these prior investigations to a somewhat different type of institution, Syracuse University, in the context of a contrast between the rhetoric of administrators and the reality of discrimination.[2]

Discrimination did not take place in a vacuum. It reflected the discriminatory attitudes and practices in American society in the years between 1916 and World War II. In 1916, Madison Grant wrote *The Passing of the Great Race*, warning that unrestricted immigration, especially of Eastern European Jews, threatened Anglo-Saxon Americans. The xenophobia of World War I and the post-war "Red Scare" contributed to the surge of nativism. Congress restricted immigration with the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and in 1924 passed the draconian National Origins Act to restrict the immigration of people from Southern and Eastern Europe, especially Jews. "Much of the agitation preceeding [both laws] was clearly anti-Semitic in nature."[3] The 1924 law set fixed quotas on immigration by country of origin based on the 1890 census. Nativists wanted to preserve the Anglo-Saxon nature of the population by preventing the immigration of other ethnic, racial, and religious groups. Virtually no Asians and few Jews or Catholics could now enter the country. Other signs of the growing intolerance in American society after World War I were the spread of the Ku Klux Klan in areas outside the South with its appeal to anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism and the discrimination against Jews and Catholics in employment and housing.

Hostility toward blacks, also, increased after World War I. American blacks thought that President Woodrow Wilson's great crusade for democracy abroad would bring a better day for them at home. Instead, the summer of 1919 turned into the "Red Summer," because of the blood shed in race riots. Between 1917 and the early 1920s, white mobs attacked blacks in towns and cities across the country, and lynchings by the Ku Klux Klan continued throughout the interwar years in the South. Segregation flourished not only in the South, but also in many communities in the North and West.

The general climate of intolerance in the 1920s was reflected on college campuses. After World War I, administrators at Columbia, New York University, Princeton, Harvard, and Yale began restricting the admission of Jews and Catholics, but especially of Jews. Columbia led the way with the use of numerical quotas. Initially, Columbia had used a more indirect method based upon intelligence tests, personal qualities, and geographic distribution. By these techniques, the number of Jews admitted was reduced from forty to twenty percent. Following Columbia's lead, New York University also reduced its Jewish enrollment, from forty to twenty-five percent, beginning in 1919-20 and "using 'a group of coordinated principles' to measure 'moral values.'"[4] Further, preference was given to students residing on or near campus which limited the number of Jewish students commuting from the lower east side of the city. President Abbott Lawrence Lowell advocated limiting Jewish enrollment at Harvard in 1922. Using a fluctuating quota, Harvard confined its Jewish enrollment in the 1920s and 1930s from ten to sixteen percent of the freshman class. Jews residing in university housing were restricted to their percentage in their class. At Yale, students, faculty and alumni pressured the administraiton to enforce similar measures; and President James Angell agreed to limit Jewish enrollment. Princeton admitted a token number of Jews and kept its Jewish students to below three percent of its total enrollment. Other elite colleges, such as Amherst, Williams, Colgate, and Dartmouth initiated discriminatory admissions policies. These policies and practices established after World War I did not end generally until after World War II and in some colleges not until the 1960s.

The intolerance of the post-World War I period carried over as well to blacks. Some colleges like Princeton barred all blacks. Harvard admitted a few but usually barred them from university housing, especially freshman dormitories. Black students in the Class of 1957 were the first to be allowed unqualified admission to freshman dormitories.[5] Some colleges permitted black students to participate in athletics but benched them upon request of southern segregated schools. The patterns of discrimination against blacks on the nation's campuses were not removed until the 1960s.

Blacks, Catholics, and Jews were not the only groups that faced discrimination in higher education in the 1920s and 1930s; women were also involved. Some colleges used the availability of supervised housing for women as an excuse to restrict the admission of women undergraduates. This was especially restrictive, for example, at Cornell University which limited its enrollment of women to twenty-five percent until the 1960s. Women students were often steered into home economics or female-dominated professions, such as nursing. At some colleges, like Cornell, campus organizations "discouraged the participation of women."[6] Not until World War II did women students assume a greater role in campus affairs.

Women were also discriminated against in undergraduate and graduate professional schools and in the appointment to faculty positions. Cornell "severely restricted" the admission of women to its undergraduate and graduate professional colleges.[7] Columbia and Harvard law schools refused to consider women applicants and many other law schools had a quota of five percent or less. Medical schools exercised similar restrictions. There were few female faculty members at either male or co-educational colleges. As a result of the Depression, the "only place a woman scholar could hope to teach...was in a women's college."[8] A 1930 study of more than one thousand women PhDs revealed that "many felt that there was discrimination against them with regard to obtaining appointments, promotions, and salary increases."[9] Some barriers to women in higher education fell during the 1940s, but others persisted into the 1960s and 1970s.

The general climate of intolerance in the 1920s and 1930s and the discriminatory practices at other colleges influenced the policies pursued at Syracuse University. Although Syracuse University sought a public image of tolerance, its policies discriminated against Jews, Catholics, blacks and women. Surviving university records indicate that Syracuse University placed Jewish students in segregated housing and restricted the admission of all Jewish students. The University discriminated against Catholics in faculty and administrative appointments and probably restricted the admission of Catholic students. Blacks were denied admission to residence halls and were discriminated against in admission policies. The University cooperated with southern and border state colleges' discriminatory athletic policies and benched black players at their request. Women were restricted in admission to the university and its professional programs. Alumni and students supported anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-black policies. The majority of Protestant students did not want to live with Jews, Catholics and blacks and barred them from honorary societies, fraternities, and sororities.

However, in 1942, with the new administration of Chancellor William P. Tolley (1942-1969), the University altered its policies. During the next decade, Syracuse University eliminated restrictions aimed at Jews, Catholics, blacks and women. Chancellor Tolley resisted pressure from alumni and students to undo these changes. Tolley and other university administrators promoted tolerance between different religious and racial groups on campus. By the early 1950s, the attitudes of students had changed, and most fraternities and sororities had removed discriminatory clauses from their constitutions.

This study will examine the internal and external forces that contributed to the changes at Syracuse University. Before discussing the more enlightened policies adopted between 1942 and 1952, however, it will examine the restrictive policies pursued between 1916 and 1942. Its purpose is to provide evidence for comparison with the policies pursued at other colleges, and to indicate why Syracuse capitulated to the forces of nativism, racism, and sexism.

Discrimination: 1916-1942

Initially, Syracuse University resisted nativism and anti-Semitism. Chancellor James Roscoe Day (1894-1922) told John D. Rockefeller in 1916 that at Syracuse University, "we welcome Jew, Gentile, Protestant, and Catholic."[10] Under his administration, the University changed from a Methodist college to a non-sectarian university, and the chancellor sought to expand the size of the University with grew from 3,500 students in 1918 to 6,400 in 1922. While Columbia, New York University, and other elite institutions were cutting their Jewish enrollment, the percentage of Jewish students at Syracuse University rose from six percent in 1918 to fifteen percent in 1923. Increased Jewish and Catholic enrollment formed part of Day's plan to expand the University by appealing to a broader spectrum of the student population. Day also hoped that an increased Jewish enrollment would enable the University to obtain contributions from wealthy New York City area Jews.

The increased number of Jewish students angered Protestant alumni and students, however. Protestant students barred Jews from honorary societies, fraternities, sororities, law and medical students' associations. Most Protestant students did not want to socialize with nor live with Jewish students. Two hundred militantly anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic students organized a campus chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. As early as 1920, students, alumni and staff members appealed to Day to limit the Jewish enrollment, but he refused.[11]

After Charles W. Flint succeeded Day as Chancellor (1922-1936), the Senior Council in February 1923 requested that the university restrict the admission of Jews to ten percent of the student population. In response to the proposal, Chancellor Flint publicly condemned anti-Semitism in a public statement which won the approval of Jewish leaders and enlightened public opinion. His condemnation of anti-Semitism made the front page of the *New York Times*. Louis Marshall, the sole Jewish trustee of Syracuse University and president of the American Jewish Committee, applauded this statement. Other Jewish leaders, the *Times*, and the Syracuse press also praised Flint's action.[12]

Although Flint had publicly condemned anti-Semitism, he and Vice-Chancellor William P. Graham who became Chancellor (1936-1942) were actually more concerned about bad publicity than about anti-Semitism. At first, they tried to prevent news of the Senior Council's request from reaching the press. When an unknown student leaked the story to a local newspaper, they tried to have it killed. After the story appeared in the press, University publications denied the incident had ever taken place.[13] In spite of these public actions, privately Graham admitted that the Senior Council had tried to limit Jewish enrollment and that it "represented the majority sentiment at Syracuse." Flint and Graham certainly did not punish the Senior Council members and appeared to sympathize with the anti-Semitic students and alumni who felt tht Syracuse University had a "Jewish problem." As Graham told one alumnus, "we have a real problem and Chancellor Flint is not unaware of its existence."[15]

In contrast to the public posture concerning Jewish students, Syracuse administrators had taken steps by the end of the 1920s to deal with the "Jewish problem." Between 1927 and 1935 the University alternated between segregating Jewish women in separate housing and allowing them to live with other students "on a basis proportional to the percentage of Jewish women on campus."[16] It was not until 1935, after protests from Jewish women about segregated housing, that the new Dean of Women Eunice Hilton recommended the end of segregated housing for Jewish women. Syracuse University's use of quotas in housing was not unusual, and was similar to housing quotas adopted at elite colleges, such as Harvard. However, the use of segregated housing for Jewish women seems to have been a discriminatory innovation that went beyond the Ivy League and other elite colleges and reflected an effort to placate Protestant students who objected to living with Jews.

The use of quotas in housing was accompanied by quotas in admission. In 1928, Assistant Dean of Women Mabel Lytton suggested "that we should not enroll more Jewish girls that we can care for properly."[17] Dean of Women Iva Peters endorsed Lytton's proposal, and the following year the percentage of Jewish women admitted to Syracuse University dropped. Further evidence of the University's decision to limit the enrollment of Jewish women is provided by the record of a 1933 conference between Dean of Women Eugenie Leonard (who succeeded Peters and was the predecessor of Hilton) and Director of Admissions Frank Bryant. Leonard recommended admitting no Jewish women in mid-year. In seeking to limit the enrollment of Jewish women and segregating them in separate housing, Leonard, Peters and other staff members of the women's housing office combined two elements of anti-Semitism. They viewed Jews as a distinct race, and they objected to the fact that eighty percent of the Jewish women had foreign born parents.[18]

By the early 1930s, Syracuse University went beyond restricting the admission of Jewish women, to a general policy of restricting and reducing the percentage of Jewish students. After returning from a field trip to Bridgeport and Hartford in 1932, Director of Admissions Bryant reported that "all but one of the students who came to the conference were Jewish. The number was greater than I wished."[19] As a consequence, Bryant decided not to send future representatives to those two cities. Although the percentage of Jews attending the University was only twelve percent, Bryant noted that "there have been very numerous complaints brought to me [by students, staff members and alumni] that this percentage is far too great for the best interests of the University."[20] Bryant planned to follow the example of Robert Illingworth, Director of Admissions at Clark University, who had sharply reduced the percentage of Jewish students attending that university. According to Bryant, a major objective of his office would be "the steady and persistent reduction in the percentage of Jewish students in the university."[21] Reducing the percentage of Jews to less than ten percent "would be one of the strongest factors in securing the type of student which we desire."[22]

In an effort to attract "the better type of Christian" student, Admissions Director Bryant reduced the percentage of Jews admitted to Syracuse University to below ten percent.[23] Between 1936 and 1939 the percentage of Jews admitted to Syracuse University ranged from seven percent to nine and a half percent, and by 1939 the total Jewish enrollment dropped to seven and a half percent. By 1939 restricting the admission of Jewish students had become so well established a part of university policy that Dean William Powers, head of the university's interdenominational religious body knows as Hendricks Chapel, recommended a student because "the boy in his racial strain is only one-quarter Jewish and has been a Christian for sometime." Powers added that "it seems to me in the matter of selecting those who are to be admitted that it might be well to take one who is fractional than entire."[24] Clearly, in the 1930s Jews were unwelcome at Syracuse University. University administrators differed only in what they disliked about Jews, whether it was their religious background, their ethnic origin or their race. The University had abandoned Flint's public commitment to tolerance and had joined the elite colleges in restricting the admission of Jewish students.

While at Syracuse discriminatory policies emerged from or accompanied sentiments of students and alumni and later faculty members as well–not without parallel to President Angell's experience at Yale--, another factor was the desire to retain the Protestant character of the University as necessary to maintain Christian enrollments. Publicly, the University was a non-sectarian, but privately, Flint and Graham saw Syracuse as a Methodist institution and wanted to insure a Protestant student majority. What Wechsler concluded about the adoption of quotas at the University of Chicago applies to Syracuse University, "too many Jews...scared away the cash customers."[25] Flint and

Graham wanted to maintain the University's enrollment while upgrading the quality of the student body. Since other colleges restricted the admission of Jewish students, Flint and Graham adopted restrictions to remain competitive and to attract the better quality Protestant student who did not want to attend a college where there were too many Jews.

Besides restricting the admission of Jews and segregating Jewish women, University officials also demonstrated their dislike for Jewish students by their attitudes toward exemption of students from classes on religious holidays and by their opposition to a Jewish studies program. In 1926, Rabbi Jesse Bienenfeld, religious leader of Conservative Temple Adath Yeshurun, sought exemption from classes for religious Jewish students on Saturdays and Jewish holidays. Vice Chancellor Graham did not think it proper for "a non-Christian sect with a rather small representation in the student body to regulate our method of educational procedure."[26] Graham opposed exemptions for Jewish students. "It seems to me inevitable," Graham told Flint, "that a Jewish student at Syracuse, who insists on observing the orthodox traditions of his race will be at some disadvantage," because of Syracuse University's Christian orientation.[27] A year later, Nathan Wesley Markson, president of the Syracuse Board of Education, also objected to the university's attendance policies and implied that "the university is unjust to Jewish students and is discriminating against them."[28] Just as President Lowell of Harvard "was not tolerant of religious differences among Harvard students when they conflicted with the university calendar," Flint and Graham remained negative to such arrangements,[29] as did many Protestant students whose opinions strengthened the administration's posture.

The administration's unwillingness to accept a Jewish studies program also demonstrated its insensitivity. Flint rejected requests in the 1930s from the Jewish community in Syracuse to establish a Jewish studies program, because of its allegedly sectarian nature. Later, in the early 1940s, Rabbi Irwin Hyman of Temple Adath Yeshurun, approached the then Chancellor Graham with a proposal for a Jewish studies program financed by Jewish philanthropists. Graham adamantly rejected the idea. He told Rabbi Hyman that he would "not tolerate Jewish studies at the University" under any circumstances,[30] further evidence of the gap between public posture regarding tolerance and actual policies pursued by University officials.

The difference between stated policy and actual practice was also demonstrated by the treatment of Catholics at the University. In 1916, Chancellor Day said that Syracuse welcomed Catholics. However, in the same year when Chancellor Day learned that Ernest M. Pattee, chairman of the Department of Chemistry, appointed a Catholic, Walter Patrick, to a faculty position, Day asked Pattee to rescind the appointment. Pattee persuaded Day to permit Patrick to serve for at least one year. Patrick "felt very bitterly" about Day's opposition to his appointment and "thought it was a gross injustice that a man should be rejected on account of his religion."[31] He left after a year, as did another Catholic faculty member. As Vice-Chancellor Henry Peck admitted, there was "no future for them"at Syracuse University.[32] Religion continued to play a role in hiring policies into the 1930s. When Dean of Women Leonard suggested the appointment of a candidate for Assistant Dean, she noted that "she is a Catholic, and I do not know whether you will approve of her appointment, or not, even for one year."[33]

University administrators were supported by Protestant students in their anti-Catholic policies. A 1926 survey of student attitudes at Syracuse University conducted by two faculty members and a graduate student revealed that only thirty-eight percent of non-Catholic students would admit Catholics to fraternities, sororities, and rooming houses.[34] Protestant students especially disliked Italian and Polish Catholics. Although a few fraternities and sororities admitted an occasional Catholic member, most did not. The school newspaper, *Daily Orange*, published a series of editorials in 1932 exposing discrimination against Catholics by fraternities and sororities.[35] Even Dean Leonard admitted in 1932 that "each year there is a large group of Catholic girls" who wanted to join a sorority, but were "not bid because of the religious rulings in the various houses."[36] Catholics, like Jews, had to form their own fraternities and sororities. In 1932 parents of Catholic students protested, but Flint and Graham refused to interfere with the discriminatory practices of fraternities and sororities. To placate the Catholics and defuse the discrimination issue, Flint allowed the formation of a second Catholic sorority.

Student hostility toward Catholics probably influenced Syracuse University's admission policies. Although Syracuse University did not restrict the admission of Catholics, as it did Jews, enrollment figures suggest the administration adopted a policy of controlling the growth of Catholic students. Since Protestants did not object as strongly to Catholics as they did to Jews, there was less pressure to limit Catholic enrollment. However, a desire to appease the anti-Catholic feelings of prospective Protestant students and Flint's desire to "maintain the high proportion of the Protestant group,"[37] led to a control over the number of Catholic students. As the number of Jewish students declined, however, there was some increase in Catholic enrollment. The combined Jewish-Catholic enrollment seems to have been limited to thirty to thirty-five percent, leaving a Protestant majority of sixty-five to seventy percent. Of course, Syracuse was not alone in this regard. Elite institutions such as Columbia University had a "limitation on the admission of Catholic and Jewish students."[38]

Just as elite colleges and universities discriminated against Jews and Catholics, they also discriminated against blacks in their admissions policies. Syracuse University did likewise. In 1922, Vice-Chancellor Graham decided that Syracuse University should have a stricter policy in the admission of black students. "It has struck me that the colored students who have entered the University are, in general, a rather poor lot," Graham told Director of Admissions Eugene Bradford, Bryant's predecessor, and Syracuse University should "be unusually strict in admitting them."[39]

Bradford agreed with Graham but pointed out the problem of identifying who the black applicants were. He then suggested a method of identifying them. Until 1922, Syracuse University could not identify "any particular candidate as colored until after he [had] been admitted." Bradford noted that blacks did not have names that classified them "as do the names of certain other elements of our populaiton." Therefore, he wondered, "how are we to know that we are dealing with an African until we see him in the flesh," since "his certificate is generally of the same color as a white man's."[40] To solve the problem, Bradford recommended including in application forms the the following question: "If other than a native white American citizen, state race and nationality" and enclose a photograph.[41]

University officials also reinforced admission restrictions on black students by reducing the financial assistance available to them. Thus, one finds that appeals from representatives of black high schools for scholarship aid were turned down in the mid-1920s. Officials also terminated a scholarship program for black students from Dunbar High School in Washington. During the 1920s black enrollment averaged about twenty-five a year, far below one percent of the student body; and this dropped during the 1930s and early 1940s. In 1942, only three blacks attended the University.

Few of the blacks who did attend the university were from Syracuse. Lack of financial aid, scarcity of job opportunities for educated blacks in Syracuse, and Syracuse University's attitude toward blacks discouraged local applicants.[42] Local applicants were also discouraged by housing policies. Female black students were barred from university residences, as most of the time black males were also. Although the University required that women students live in approved housing, the administration made an exception in the case of black women. Since they were not allowed into University housing, black students had to find accomodations in Syracuse's black neighborhoods. When black women complained in 1928 about the lack of housing and asked the YWCA to assist them in persuading Syracuse University to open a cottage for black women, University housing officials rejected the proposal. Representatives of the Syracuse black community protested without effect.[43]

Although university housing policies were an open secret, when the school newspaper published a story about them in 1932, Flint and Graham initiated a search for the person responsible for "leaking" the story. As in 1923, they were more concerned about bad publicity than, about discrimination. In 1932, when a black male student was denied permission to live in a dormitory, several students and an instructor of religion, Herbert Abraham, conducted a survey of race relations and the *Daily Orange* published a summary of their findings. Publication of the "very unfortunate article in the *Daily Orange* about the negro situation at Syracuse," upset Graham and Flint.[44] They were especially angered by the inclusion of details of a housing committee meeting, which had been divided over the question of admitting black males and which eventually decided negatively. Again they sought to identify who "leaked" the details of the committee meeting. Abraham admitted responsibility. Although he apologized, Graham felt no apology was acceptable and within a year his career at Syracuse ended.[45] Neither Flint nor Graham expressed any concern about the discrimination at Syracuse University; statements stressed the effect of the publicity these incidents generated.

While some faculty and students objected to the university's racism, a great majority of Protestant students favored the University's housing policies and opposed blacks in student controlled housing and social events. The 1926 survey of student attitudes revealed that only five percent of the students favored the admission of blacks to fraternities, sororities, and rooming houses and that fraternities, sororities, and three honorary societies barred black members. In the mid-1920s, when there were still enough blacks attending the University, they formed a separate fraternity. The 1932 report on race relations and *Daily Orange* story substantiated this situation. It observed that while the eighteen blacks at the University found personal relations between blacks and whites "fairly pleasant," they were denied admission to college social events, such as dances, or were shunned by the other students at those functions, such as the Senior Ball, which they were allowed to attend.[46]

The 1932 report also noted that in athletics Syracuse did not discriminate against blacks except "when playing an institution that objects to a man on account of his race."[47] This capitulation to southern and border state racism supported the discrepancy between the public statements and practice. In October 1937, the University of Maryland requested that the Syracuse team bench a star football player, Wilmeth Sidat-Singh, because he was black. Publicly, the University stated that Sidat-Singh could not play because of an injury. However, this explanation was not supported by accounts of the incident.[48] Moreover, after the game, the newly-appointed Chancellor Graham held a meeting to discuss expelling Sidat-Singh, because until the Maryland game, he and Bryant thought Sidat-Singh was a Hindu. He had a Hindu step-father. Graham wanted to expel Sidat-Singh, but Director of Admissions Bryant reminded Graham that, "they could say that as long as he was a colored Hindu he was acceptable, but when it was determined that he was a colored American citizen he was not acceptable, and it would be a very difficult question to answer."[49] Fearing the bad publicity an expulsion would generate, Graham accepted Bryant's advice.

Blacks condemned the benching of Sidat-Singh. The editor of the New York *Age*, a black weekly, wrote that 'Syracuse humiliated him [Sidat-Singh] and all its colored students by benching him."[50] Enraged by Syracuse University's acceptance of southern and border state discriminatory practices, the editor of the *Age* urged black students and alumni to protest and encouraged the *Age's* readers to "write the Syracuse prexy and also the football coach and let them know we do not like their attitude."[51] Protests, however, did not alter university policy.

A further incident occurred in 1938 when Syracuse University planned to bench Sidat-Singh when it played Duke University, but the publicity surrounding the game forced both Duke and Syracuse universities to allow Sidat-Singh to play. Rumors that Syracuse University planned to bench him appeared in the *New York Daily News* just before the game, and this led to protests from fans and alumni of both Duke and Syracuse. Syracuse University alumnus Draper Daniels wrote Graham that "barring Sidat-Singh would disgrace both universities," and "smack[ed] of racial intolerance."[52] A clause in the contract between the two universities required Syracuse University to bench black players, but Duke waived the clause. The University's treatment of Sidat-Singh and the administration's reaction to the 1932 report on race relations underline a primary concern with public image rather than discriminatory policies, further evidence of the sharp contrast between public policy statements and actual practice.[53]

Policies which were directed at minority enrollments carried over to women as well, especially in admission to pre-professional and professional programs. When a woman applied for admission to the Forestry School in 1924, for example, the Registrar, William S. Knickerbocker, informed her that the School did not admit women because there were no jobs available for them.[54] In the late 1930s when sixty-eight women sought admission to the pre-journalism program, Dean Mathew Spencer of the Journalism School felt that such an enrollment, slightly more than half of the program's total, was "too high a proportion of women," and he obtained Graham's approval to the reduce the number to fifty. Dean Spencer wanted to keep "the School from going feminine." He feared that male students would desert the program if too many women were admitted. "Wisconsin almost destroyed itself a few years ago," he told Director of Admissions Bryant, "when it allowed itself to be overrun with women. Other schools have had a like experience."[55] Furthermore, when most of the inquiries about the journalism program for 1938-1939 were from women, Spencer and Bryant agreed to restrict the number of women admitted to sixty out of one hundred and fifty students accepted into the program.

The University also discouraged the admission of women to undergraduate programs. During the late 1930s, an increasing number of women in the top quarter of the graduating classes in the city of Syracuse applied. Since Syracuse University lacked adequate housing for its women students and wanted to preserve the existing male-female enrollment ratio, officials decided to reject applications from many qualified women in favor of less qualified males. Bryant admitted that in 1937 alone he "denied admission to several hundred qualified women, who, if they had been taken, would...have raised our percentage from the highest quarter materially." He advised Graham that attempting "to control artificially the ratio of boys to girls in the entering class" would lead to a declining percentage of top quality students.[56] However, in 1937 Graham decided to maintain the female-male ratio nevertheless.

Tolley Years: Eliminating Discrimination, 1942-1952

The appointment of William P. Tolley as Chancellor in 1942 led to a change in attitude and the elimination of many of the racial, religious and sex barriers. A new commitment to tolerance became apparent in late 1942 when he received a letter from the American Friends Service Committee asking him if he would admit some Japanese-Americans to Syracuse University. He agreed to do so, and in spite of opposition from local veterans' groups and some students thirty Japanese-Americans finished their education at Syracuse University.[57] In 1944, Tolley endorsed an appeal by former presidential candidate Alfred E. Smith for a proposed series of refugee camps in the United States to house Jews fleeing from the Holocaust.[58]

At Syracuse, Tolley's influence was evidenced by the increasing number of Jews admitted despite pressures from students and alumni to the contrary. Between 1939 and 1945, the percentage of Jews attending the University rose from seven and a half percent to eighteen percent. Opposition to the freer admission policy was voiced by both alumni and students. An unknown university official reported in 1947 that, "I have received many complaints from the alumni about the admission of so many Jews to the university."[59] Some students also resented the increase. The Advisory Committee to the Office of the Dean of Women held a special meeting in January 1946 to discuss "the Jewish problem."[60] Three years later, Dean Hilton found it necessary to advise her staff to "emphasize and reemphasize an understanding of *Jewish students*."[61] By the early 1950s, however, the Protestant students had accepted the situation.

In addition to Jews, blacks also benefited from a more tolerant atmosphere under Chancellor Tolley. The University integrated dormitories, opposed racial barriers in honorary societies, and eased some of the barriers to blacks attending the University. In 1944, the University even experimented with racial integration by admitting a black student into a female dormitory. She got along with the white students, but the "Head Resident would not wish that it be concluded...that races should be mixed in campus residence.[62] In spite of the reservations of the residence staff, Syracuse had begun the integration of university residences. Evidence of the changed atmosphere can be found several years later in the response of Dean Hilton to the complaint of the president of a national honorary society about the admission of a black member on the campus. The Dean responded that "it is not appropriate to have on our campus a professional social organization which discriminates against negroes."[63] Although the number of blacks attending Syracuse University remained low, it did increase from three in 1942 to more than thirty by the early 1950s, and the elimination of racial barriers in housing and honorary societies represented a substantial change from policies of the 1920s and 1930s.

Another significant shift from the 1930s was the promotion of programs fostering racial and religious tolerance. In 1939, Chancellor Graham rejected the University's participation in a program sponsered by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, because he felt there was too much talk about religious and racial prejudice. As a contrast, in the early 1950s, Syracuse University encouraged Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, black and Japanese-American students to participate in discussions designed to promote mutual understanding.[64]

The policies of Tolley also led to a greater sensitivity to women students. In 1942 Dean Hilton offered a women's history course, one of the first women's study offerings at a co-educational college in the United States. Also, women students found it easier to gain admission to professional and graduate programs.[65]

While these changes were made without outside pressure, there also were forces pressing for additional changes. The most important was the passage of New York State's Fair Educational Practices Act in 1948. Reports by the President's Commission on Higher Education and the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University had pointed to the continued existence of discrimination in higher education. Private colleges and universities in New York, including Syracuse, opposed the anti-discriminatory bill. Chancellor Tolley belonged to the executive commitee of New York's private Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York (ACUSNY) which condemned the proposed legislation as a threat to academic freedom. At the same time, the Committee on Discrimination Against Minority Groups of the national college association, Association of American Colleges (AAC), issued a report on discrimination. The committee was chaired by Chancellor Tolley. Although it recommended the elimination of discrimination, it also took the same position as the ACUSNY on anti-discrimination legislation.[66] Nevertheless, New York enacted the Fair Educational Practices Act banning discrimination in admissions based on race, religion, or national origin. Massachusetts and New Jersey followed New York's lead. As a result of the passage of this legislation, Syracuse removed questions from application and registration forms concerning the applicant's race, religion, and national origin and abandoned plans to adopt a geographical quota.

Changing attitudes toward discrimination by fraternities and sororities and student activism were factors pushing the campus toward the elimination of discriminatory barriers. When Amherst's Board of Trustees banned discrimination by its sororities and fraternities in 1946, Syracuse did not follow. In 1949, however, after Dartmouth's Interfraternity Council urged other colleges to join in a fight against discriminatory clauses in the constitutions of fraternities and sororities, the *Daily Orange* urged Greeks to follow Dartmouth's lead. Lee Taub, President of Men's Student Government, introduced a bill in the men's student assembly banning discrimination by campus organizations.[67];

While Taub's bill failed to pass, his action led to a widespread debate on the issue and to the passage of a modified bill. Initially, the campus Interfraternity Council remained aloof from the debate, but then recommended that its members remove their discriminatory clauses. In the spring of 1950, the men's and women's student assemblies passed bills recommending that existing campus organizations remove discriminatory clauses and forbidding new campus organizations from including discriminatory requirements.[68]

Until the actions of the assemblies, the university administration had remained neutral, a situation which had led the *Daily Orange* to condemn the administration for caring more about public relations than eliminating discrimination. The paper's editorial staff argued that the administration supported the Taub bill because "it is a good thing for Syracuse...to be on record as having done something. It doesn't matter how much or how little, just so long as the fact is recorded,'"[69] suggesting that the gap between public posture and campus policy continued to exist.

However, the administration soon bridged this gap. A Discriminatory Clause Board to monitor compliance was established. By the spring of 1952, twenty-two fraternities and twenty-one sororities dropped discriminatory clauses, and the rest were apparently making effors to have their clauses removed, an action which led the American Council on Education to commend the University. The evidence suggests that the efforts of the *Daily Orange* and Lee Taub succeeded in pushing the administration to actions more extensive than University officers had contemplated.[70]

Removal of discriminatory clauses did not mean all discrimination ended. Some sororities continued to refuse blacks, Jews, Asian-Americans or Catholics for another decade. In the early 1950s, Father Gannon Ryan, the Roman Catholic chaplain, for example, complained about insensitivity to Catholic religious needs and alleged that the Maxwell School faculty were anti-Catholic. Some Jewish students considered the University insensitive to

Jewish dietary laws and holidays. A few university department heads continued to discriminate against Jews, Catholics, blacks and women in hiring and promotions for another decade. As late as 1970 blacks and women charged discrimination continued to exist in employment practices and athletics. However, between 1942 and 1952 Syracuse University had made substantial progress in eliminating discrimination, a significant change from the attitudes and policies between 1916 and 1942.[71]

Conclusion

The preceding analysis suggested that Syracuse University professed a committment to tolerance and non-sectarianism between 1916 and 1942, but its public statements did not coincide with its practices. In spite of statements to the contrary, the University administration restricted the admission of Jewish students and segregated Jewish women and was insensitive to Jewish religious needs and rejected a Jewish studies program. Catholics had difficulty finding employment, and the numbers of Catholic students was probably restricted. Administrators held prejudiced views toward Jews, Catholics, blacks and women. Blacks were discriminated against in admissions, financial aid, housing and athletics. Women were also discriminated against in admissions policies.

Repeatedly, University administrators evidenced a primary concern with the public image of Syracuse University and displayed a callousness toward discrimination. The reaction of Flint and Graham to the 1923 Senior Council incident and the 1932 report on discrimination against blacks attest to this. Also, the reaction to the charges of anti-Catholicism by Catholic parents in 1932 suggested a desire to avoid publicity rather than deal with the issue raised. This was apparent in the benching of Sidat-Singh because of the bad publicity it would have generated.

Fear of unfavorable publicity led Chancellor Flint to caution one alumnus not to talk about the University's plan to maintain its Protestant majority, because "it is a matter that cannot and should not be publicly discussed."[72] Flint and Graham wanted to retain the Protestant character of the University and sought to improve the quality of the student body by appealing to better Protestant students, fearing that Protestant students would not attend a college where there were too many Jews and a large Catholic minority.

Syracuse University wanted to remain competitive. Today, Syracuse offers a joint business-liberal arts option to appeal to students. In the 1930s, it cut the number of Jews admitted for the same reason. Just as Harvard, Yale, and Princeton made concessions to the prejudices of their upper class clientele, Syracuse University placated its clientele. Since the Protestant students at Syracuse shared the same prejudices of the students attending elite colleges, the same groups were discriminated against—Jews, blacks and to a lesser extent Catholics. Although Harvard, Yale, and Princeton had far more applicants than spaces, they wanted to remain the bastions of the Protestant upper class and feared losing their clientele to smaller elite institutions like Williams and Amherst. At Syracuse University, Day had expanded the University after World War I by going beyond its traditional middle class and lower middle class Protestant base in upstate New York to appeal to Jewish and Catholic students, many from the New York City area. Flint and Graham, however, put a priority on retaining their Protestant base, fearing the loss of Protestants to other colleges in upstate New York. Moreover, since the elite colleges discriminated in their admissions policies, Syracuse University felt obliged to do the same and had socially acceptable examples to follow.

Moreover, Day, Flint, and Graham perceived of Syracuse University as a Methodist, Protestant and Christian university in that order. This is why in spite of the claim of non-sectarianism, Syracuse University discriminated against Catholics in hiring and promotion. It also explains why Flint and Graham remained generally indifferent to the needs of religious Jewish students and refused to permit a Jewish studies program.

Personal prejudice and acceptance of existing social mores also played a role in the adoption of discriminatory policies. Spencer's attitude toward women, Leonard's hostility toward Jews and Italian Catholics, and Graham's prejudice toward blacks all contributed to University policies. While the University had a miniscule black enrollment, they were the group most discriminated against because of Graham's prejudices and the existing social mores. For these reasons Syracuse University made it more difficult for blacks to gain admission and financial aid. Flint and Graham accepted the southern and border state desires to keep black players out of games, and benched black players at their request. Traditional attitudes also explain some of the problems women had in gaining admission to University programs. The lack of supervised housing for women and a desire to maintain a male-female ratio compounded the problems women faced in gaining admission. What Syracuse University did was probably not unique, because nearby Cornell University discriminated against women for some of the same reasons.

The University's discriminatory policies had the support of the student body. Most Protestant students did not want to live with nor socialize with Jews, blacks, and Catholics. Fraternities and sororities barred minority racial and religious groups from membership. They endorsed and supported discriminatory policies. Students at Yale, Harvard and Princeton were conservative in the 1920s and 1930s and barred Jews, Catholics, and blacks from fraternities and eating clubs because they wanted to make it easier for Protestants to ascend social and career ladders. Similarly, middle class and lower class Protestants at Syracuse University did not want to compete with Jews, Catholics, and blacks. Because Protestant students at Syracuse were from a lower social class than their Ivy League counterparts, Protestant students at Syracuse could demonstrate their own social superiority by excluding racial and religious minorities. It may have relieved some of their own status anxieties. It was to appease the students that the University barred blacks from University housing and alternated between segregating Jewish women and using a quota to assign them to dormitories. Alumni also continued to pressure the University to restrict the admission of Jews and supported discriminatory policies against Jews, blacks, and Catholics. Most students and alumni were middle class, and their attitudes were more representative of the prejudices of that class.[73] They reflected the general attitudes of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.

Beginning in 1942, however, Syracuse began to abandon many of these discriminatory practices. Discrimination against blacks in housing, honorary societies, and admissions ended. Chancellor Tolley welcomed Japanese-Americans to the University. Large numbers of Jews began to attend Syracuse University as the admissions barriers were dropped. Women found it easier to gain admission to programs, and the University promoted racial and religious tolerance. When veterans protested against the admission of Japanese-Americans and alumni and students complained about the increasing number of Jews, Chancellor Tolley stood firm and resisted these pressures.

While Tolley deserves the credit for these changes, there were also external forces pushing Syracuse University to go further. New York's Fair Educational Practices Act led to the abandonment of discriminatory questions on application forms and to the dropping of a plan for a geographical quota. Returning veterans attending college at elite institutions and at Syracuse University brought a more democratic spirit to college life. By 1950 students at Syracuse University prodded the administration to monitor the elimination of descriminatory clauses from the constitutions of sororities and fraternities. Thus, it was a combination of policies adopted by Chancellor Tolley and external pressures which led to a significant reduction in discriminatory barriers between 1942 and 1952 and to a bridging of the gap between the public posture and actual policy. Under Chancellor Tolley, the University began to live up to the public pledges of Chancellors Day and Flint, changes which preceeded those made at most Ivy League and other elite institutions by a decade.

NOTES

1. Stephen Steinberg, "How Jewish Quotas Began," *Commentary* 52 (September 1971): 67-76; Stephen Steinberg, *The Academic Melting Pot: Catholics and Jews in American Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974); Harold Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977); Marcia Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900-1970* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1979); Louise Blecher Rose, "The Secret Life of Sarah Lawrence," *Commentary* 75 (May 1983): 52-56. For the controversy surrounding Ms. Rose's expose of anti-Semitism at Sarah Lawrence, see Richard Bernstein "Anti-Semitism in an Old File Stirs a College," *New York Times*, 20 May 1983, p. B5.

2. Almost all Syracuse University records generated over the last thirty years are closed to researchers as are some earlier records. Chancellor Melvin Eggers, Registrar Carole Barrone, Vice-President for Student Affairs Paul Eickmann, and University Archivist Amy Doherty provided this researcher with partial access to restricted records. This study was confined to the period between 1916 and 1952, because of the availability of university records. For an insightful summary of the problems in doing research into university records see Marcia Synnott, "*The Half-Opened Door:* Researching Admissions Discrimination at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton," *American Archivist* 45 (Spring 1982): 175-87.

3. Henry Feingold, *Zion in America* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), p. 265. Nativists used racial arguments to justify anti-Semitism. Sometimes, However, they viewed Jews as an ethnic group. The Klan based its appeal on religious hatred.

4. Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*, p. 19.

5. Nell Painter, "Jim Crow At Harvard: 1923," *New England Quarterly* 44 (December 1971): 627-34.

6. Charlotte Williams Consable, *Women At Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 117.

7. Ibid., p. 112.

8. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1982), p. 80.

9. Saul Feldman, *Escape from the Doll's House: Women in Graduate and Professional School Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 4.

10. James R. Day to John D. Rockefeller, 11 December 1916, Box 7, James R. Day Papers, Records of the Chancellor's Office, Record Group 1, Syracuse University Archives, George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University (hereafter cited as CO, RG, SUA).

11. Chancellor James R. Day to Louis Marshall, 15 April 1920, Box 7, James R. Day Papers, CO, RGI, SUA. For a more detailed analysis of anti-Semitism at Syracuse University

between 1916 and 1929 see this author's article, "Louis Marshall and Anti-Semitism at Syracuse University," *American Jewish Archives 35* (April 1983): 1-12.

12. *New York Times*, 28 February 1923; "Statement by Louis Marshall," 28 February 1923, W.J. Kennedy to Louis Marshall, 28 February 1923, Marshall, Discrimination at College file, Archives of the American Jewish Committee.

13. *Daily Orange*, 1 March 1923; *Alumni Record*, 28 February 1923.

14. Vice-Chancellor Graham to Alumnus, 6 March 1923, Hendricks Chapel file, Box 5, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, RG 13, SUA.

15. Ibid.

16. "Report of the Assistant Dean of Women, 20 May 1931," Box 21, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, RG 13, SUA.

17. "Report of the Assistant Dean of Women, 28 March 1928," Housing file, Box 15, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA.

18. Eulalie Ruth Abell, "Factors in the Personnel Program for the Women of Syracuse University" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1931), p. 102.

19. "Reactions from the First Field Trip," 22 November 1932, Admissions 1931-1932 file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

20. "Objectives of the Admissions Program," 14 November 1932, Admissions 1931-1932 file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG1, SUA.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Frank Bryant to Chancellor Graham, 28 February 1941, Admissions 1940-1942 file, Box 2, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

24. Dean William Powers to Chancellor Graham, 31 January 1939, Box 1, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA. Enrollment figures are from scattered records in the Flint-Graham and Galpin Papers.

25. Wechsler, *Qualified Student*, p. 230.

26. Vice-Chancellor Graham to Chancellor Flint, 28 January 1926, Flint 1926-28 file, Box 22, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

29. Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door*, p. 45.

30. Rabbi Irwin Hyman to Harvey Strum, 23 June 1983. For the earlier rejection of the Jewish studies program, see Vice-Chancellor Graham to George Hyman, 27 November 1933, Hendricks Chapel file, Box 3, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA.

31. Ernest N. Pattee to Chancellor Flint, 16 November 1933, Pa-Pe 1922-35 file, Box 36, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

32. Henry Peck to Rev. Purdy, 15 September 1921, Box 11, James R. Day Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

33. Eugenie Leonard to Chancellor Flint, 31 May 1935, Dean of Women 1928-36 file, Box 27, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA.

34. Floyd Allport and Daniel Katz, *Students' Attitudes* (Syracuse: Craftsman Press, 1931), p. 146.

35. *Daily Orange*, 7, 8, and 12 December 1932.

36. "Annual Report of the Dean of Women, 1932-1933," Box 4, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA. Leonard especially disliked Jewish and Italian Catholic students and barred them from the Senior Guides and her staff saw them as special problems. See: James Wechsler, *Revolt on Campus* (New York: Corvici, Friede, 1935), p. 210; Abell, "Factors in the Personnel Program," p. 102.

37. Charles Flint to Edwin McBrier, 13 February 1936, Chapel Scholarship file, Box 12, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

38. Synnott, *Half-Opened Door*, p. 18; Wechsler, *Qualified Student*, p. 165.

39. William Graham to Eugene Bradford, 11 October 1922, Admissions file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

40. Eugene Bradford to William Graham, 11 October 1922, Admissions file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

41. Application form, Freshman file, Box 22, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA.

42. William Graham to A.H. Glen (College Bureau, Dunbar High School) 27 May 1924, Graham to Glen, 24 November 1923, Glen to Graham, 21 November 1923, Dn-Dz 1924-1936, Box 15, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA; Theodore Brown, "Negro Community Relations in Syracuse as Related to the Social Service Program of the Dunbar Center" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1943), pp. 141-143; Golden Darby, *The Negro in Syracuse* (Syracuse: Dunbar Center, 1937), p. 18; Barbara Davis, *History of the Black Community of Syracuse* (Syracuse: Onondaga Community College, 1980), p. 24.

43. "Housing Report, 28 March 1928," Housing 1928-1936 file, Box 15, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA; Darby, *The Negro in Syracuse*, p. 18.

44. William Graham to Louis Hickernell, 10 May 1932, Housing 1928-1936 file, Box 15, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA

45. William Graham to Herbert Abraham, 20 June 1932, Housing 1928-1936 file, Box 15, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA; Wechsler, *Revolt on Campus*, p. 120.

46. *Daily Orange*, 20 May 1932.

47. Ibid.

48. Carl Mellor, "Gentleman's Agreement to Discriminate," *Syracuse New Times*, 18 September 1982, p. 14; James Coates, Jr., "Gentleman's Agreement: The 1937 Maryland Syracuse Football Controversy" (Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1982); Ken Rappoport, *The Syracuse Football Story* (Huntsville, Ala.: Strode Publishers, 1975), p. 135.

49. Frank Bryant to William Graham, 29 October 1937, Admissions 1936-1937 file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

50. *New York Age*, 6 November 1937.

51. Ibid.

52. Draper Daniels to William Graham, 20 October 1938, Da-Dl 1937-1942 file, Box 15, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA. See Graham's reply of 8 November 1938 for his admission of a contract with Duke containing a clause barring black players.

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55. Dean Matthew Spencer to Frank Bryant, 16 November 1937, Journalism 1928-1941, Box 15, W. Freeman Galpin Papers, SUA.

56. Frank Bryant, "1937 Statistical Report on Admissions," 16 November 1937, Admissions file, Box 1, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA.

57. *Syracuse Post-Standard*, 7 December 1983.

58. Alfred Smith to John Pehle, 26 May 1944, vol. 2, Temporary Haven files, War Relocation Authority, RG 210, National Archives.

59. "Report of the Committee on Public Relations, 1947-1948," p. 62, Box 8, William P. Tolley Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA. Enrollment figures are from, "University Enrollment Figures, 1945-1946," Box 35, Registrar's Office, RG 3, SUA.

60. "Advisory Committee, 10 January 1946," Box 2, Eunice Hilton Papers, RG 19, SUA.

61. Annual Report of the Dean of Women, 1948-1949, p. 2, Annual Reports to the Chancellor, CO, RG 1, SUA.

62. Annual Report of the Dean of Women, 1944-1945, p. 7, Box 41, Annual Reports to the Chancellor, CO, RG 1, SUA.

63. Eunice Hilton to Kathleen Davison, 31 January 1951, Box 3, Eunice Hilton Papers, SUA.

64. William Graham to Arthur Compton, 14 January 1939, Box 13, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA; Charles Noble to the Personnel Committee, 27 November 1953, Chapel file, Box 7, Finla Crawford Papers, Office of the Vice-Chancellor, RG 2, SUA.

65. Annual Report of the Dean of Women, 1943-1944, p. 11, Box 41, Annual Reports to the Chancellor, CO, RG 1, SUA.

66. "Statement by ACUSNY, 20 October 1947," Box 89; "Commission on Discrimination Against Minority Groups in Higher Education," Box 16, William P. Tolley Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA; William Tolley, "Report of the Committee on Minority Groups in Higher Education," *Association of American Colleges Bulletin*, 34 (March 1948): 150-155.

67. *Daily Orange*, 1 December 1949, 9 February 1950.

68. Ibid., 17 February, 23 March 1950.

69. Ibid., 17 October 1950.

70. Frank Piskor to H.C. Sundberg, Jr., 11 May 1950, Frank Piskor to Finla Crawford, 22 April 1952, Box 10, Finla Crawford Papers, SUA. The records of the Discriminatory Clause Board remain closed to researchers.

71. Charles Noble to the Personnel Committee, 25 October 1951, Kenneth Bartlett to Charles Noble, 26 August 1954, Box 7, Finla Crawford Papers, SUA; *Daily Orange*, 13 February, 12 March, 23 March 1970. Additional information was obtained from several alumni and faculty members.

72. Charles Flint to Charles Hagaman, 27 March 1936, Chapel Scholarships file, Box 12, Flint-Graham Papers, CO, RG 1, SUA. Also, see Charles Flint to Lena Baldwin, 9 February 1936, in the above file.

73. Abell, "Factors in the Personnel Program," pp. 37, 117; Allport and Katz, *Student's Attitudes*, p. 148; Maude Stewart, "Trends in the Background of Women Students Who Have Entered Syracuse University in the Last Ten Years as Shown by their Personnel Blanks Submitted on Admission" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), pp. 9-11; Martha Johnson, "A Comparison of the College Adjustment of Syracuse Students of Foreign Born Parents With the College Adjustment of Syracuse Students of American Born Parents" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1941), pp. 5-6; Margaret Anderson, "A Study of Certain Campus Leaders" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1933, p. 39; Ellen Peterson, "A Comparison of Some Experiences in the Lives of Two Groups of Women College Students" (Master's thesis, Syracuse University, 1939), pp. 29-30. These studies suggest that probably two-thirds to three quarters of the students attending Syracuse University in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s came from middle class or lower middle class families. The remainder were from working class backgrounds. For an analysis of American bigotry in the 1930s and 1940s, see Charles Stembler, et al, *Jews In The Mind of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 31-155.

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